Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-91-091 *10 May 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: On 6 May 1991, the DAILY REPORT will begin phasing in new radio and television sourcelines that reflect how a station identifies itself. This change eliminates the "Domestic Service" and "Television Service" designations in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Composition of Council of Ministers Announced

AU0905125591 Tirana ATA in English 1058 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 9 (ATA)—In today's first sitting of the People's Assembly, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Fatos Nano put forth the platform of the program of the government and its composition. Follows the composition of the Council of Ministers:

1. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Fatos Nano.

2. Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Shkelqim Cani.

3. Minister, secretary general of the Council of Ministers, Zydi Pepa.

4. Minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani.

5. Minister of defence, Ndricim Karakaci.

6. Minister of public order, Hajredin Shyti.

7. Minister of justice, Fatmir Zaloshnja.

8. Minister of economy, Leontiev Cuci.

9. Minister of finances, Anastas Angjeli.

10. Minister of mining and energy resources, Drini Mezini.

11. Minister of industry, Vilson Ahmeti.

12. Minister of nutrition, Ylli Bufi.

13. Minister of agriculture, Nexhmedin Dumani.

14. Minister of foreign economic relations, Shane Korbeci.

15. Minister of home trade and tourism, Gavrosh Pogace.

16. Minister of construction, Leonard Nano.

17. Minister of transport, Kostandin Hoxha.

18. Minister of education, Maqo Lakrori.

19. Minister of culture, youth and sports, Moikom Zeqo.

20. Minister of health, Zabit Brokaj.

21. Minister of labour and social protection, Theodhori Bej.

22. Minister of public economy and protection of the environment, Flamur Hoxha.

23. Chairman of the State Control Commission, Bujar Kolaneci.

24. Chairman of the National Security Committee, Gramoz Ruci.

25. Chairman of the committee of science and technique, Petrit Skende.

This decree enters into force immediately.

Premier Nano Speaks on Foreign Policy

AU1005072691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 May 91

[Speech by Premier Fatos Nano to the People's Assembly in Tirana on 9 May—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Honored deputies, the situation in the world has changed. From a situation in which international peace and security were assessed principally on a military basis, according to a balance of power, new situations have been created in which such values as democracy, pluralism, and humanism guide political action and create a new context in which true peace and security must primarily be seen in attaining an equilibrium of the interests of all, and in which economic development and the exercise of human rights play primary roles. The government also relies on this vision for its conception and enactment of further political steps in foreign policy, tying them always to domestic developments and our national interests.

Joining positive European trends is and will remain an important strategic priority for the Republic of Albania's foreign policy. In today's Europe, the Helsinki process has become a primary feature. In the CSCE summit last November and the Paris Charter for a new Europe, this process was raised to a new level, which reasserts the equality of peoples and their rights to determine their own destinies in accordance with basic national interests and in harmony with common interests. As a whole, the spirit of cooperation prevails over that of confrontation. The human dimension is expanding in national and international cooperation to guarantee respect for human rights and fundamental civil freedoms. Our country is an observer of this process, and aims and hopes to achieve soon the status of a full participant in the CSCE, because our country has now not only made a range of legislative and constitutional changes in accordance with the demands of the Helsinki process's basic documents, but has demonstrated in practice its democratic aspirations, its development on the basis of a market economy, its political pluralism, and its social and legal guarantees for citizens' basic rights and freedoms.

The first pluralist parliamentary elections and the extensive participation of foreign observers in them were tangible proof of the government's serious commitment in this direction, which the fruitful proceedings of our Assembly will build on in institutionalizing pluralist democracy in our country.

Europe is not solely characterized by the CSCE processes. More consolidated and integral structures have also been created and have developed in Western Europe, such as the EEC and other forms of regional

cooperation. Our government is on the threshold of establishing official relations with the EEC, with which we are convinced we will conduct fruitful cooperation, while we will also play an active part in regional cooperation in the Balkans, etc. The government also places importance on cooperation with other areas of Europe and individual countries, including Central Europe, which is now defining new forms of integration, such as the Pentagonal, the Adriatic Initiative, etc.

In this field, the invigoration of our relations with Italy is of particular value. Italy is a neighboring country with whom we have traditional ties, and it is also an EEC member that has committed itself to help us strengthen political and economic cooperation with Europe and overcome our present economic difficulties. Italy's constructive and humane attitude in its treatment of Albanian refugees has been an expression of understanding and of a realistic policy of good-neighborliness.

The process of opening up to the world, in accordance with the familiar principles governing relations among states, as well as our economic, technical, scientific, and humanitarian cooperation, will expand further in the future. Cooperation with the United Nations as an irreplaceable universal forum for harmonizing the common desires of the peoples of the world for freedom, independence, national emancipation, and social progress, and for the maintenance of international peace and security, will remain at the center of our foreign policy in the future.

We appreciate objectively the special role of the great powers in world developments and the destinies of the future. Therefore, the recent reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the United States, like the reestablishment of relations with the Soviet Union some time ago, is a proof of our proper understanding of today's relationships and the need for friendly relations of cooperation, regardless of the size of countries, their distance, and geographic position.

On the basis of the principle of removing ideology from interstate relations, for bilateral benefits in cooperation and ensuring a positive influence for peace and security in the world, the government has worked and will work to achieve the speedy normalization of relations with Britain. We consider that, thanks to joint efforts, we have attained a proximity of positions that will make such a thing possible. In the framework of the broadest possible ties and contacts with the world, we see the day of establishing diplomatic relations with the Vatican, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and some other countries as not only possible but imminent.

In the future, too, the government will consistently pursue a policy of good-neighborliness. It will support in every way the process of Balkan understanding and cooperation, which entered a qualitatively new phase with the second meeting of foreign ministers held in Tirana in October last year. We welcome the understanding and just stands of the Balkan countries toward the processes of democratization that have recently taken place in our country, as was demonstrated particularly in the friendly spirit of humane solidarity shown by the Turkish Government. We have been and remain in favor of Balkan cooperation developing as an integral part of European processes, organically tied to them, serving them, and acting with them to reduce the period necessary to overcome the region's backwardness. Meanwhile, we favor everything that points the way to good-neighborliness in this sensitive region to solve current problems not with the mentalities of the past and still less with ways and means that history itself has condemned.

The fact that a situation of real danger has been created in the Balkans, especially in Yugoslavia, cannot be overlooked in silence. In Yugoslavia, the revival of nationalism is seriously affecting not only national but regional and European stability. The outbreak of nationalist ideas, and still more, the search for solutions at the expense of others, in this case the Albanians, cannot be (?promising) for the future of processes of security and cooperation in the region. Genuine peace and calm in the Balkans cannot be created at the expense of the destiny of the Albanians in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. The government will bear in mind and will act on the resolution of the People's Assembly in this issue, just as it will bear in mind and realistically assess the interests of the Cam population.

The Republic of Albania favors equal cooperation and genuine friendship among countries. We support unreservedly all processes toward solutions in the world for democracy and progress at an international level. Our foreign policy will not be a single-party policy, but a convergence of standpoints, views, and objectives in accordance with our national interests for development and progress. Albania, an Albania with political and economic stability, is an important factor for stability in the Balkans and beyond. Albania has historically shown that she can be and will be such a factor.

The government will also pursue in the future its familiar policy on minorities as bridges of contact, peace, and cooperation with neighboring countries.

Albania favors openness toward the world. It will extend communication with the world, just as it will continue to work to acquaint the world more fully with our country and all its historical and contemporary values. The government will be interested in continually committing itself, in accordance with international regulations and principles, to creating stronger ties with Albanians abroad, whether those who emigrated long ago, those who recently fled, or those who will leave in a way organized by the state, as is now being planned. This is not only a moral duty, but a path of rapprochement in the world. [passage omitted]

Islami Receives Council of Europe's La Pergola

AU0905142191 Tirana ATA in English 0927 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 9 (ATA)—On May 8, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Kastriot Islami, received the chairman of the European Council Commission "Democracy Through the Law," Prof. Antonio La Pergola. In this meeting he briefed the distinguished Italian personality on the functioning of the first pluralist parliament, on the content of the new law "On the Main Provisions of the Constitution," as the fundamental act on whose basis relies the whole activity of our state, etc. Dr. Kastriot Islami underscored the need of establishing a close cooperation of Albania with the European Council Commission "Democracy Through the Law," of gaining the qualified juridical experience, especially for the drafting of the new constitution, of exchanging specialists, of organising seminars with specific topics, etc. He also voiced his desire that Albania become a member of this commission.

Prof. La Pergola evaluated the steps undertaken in Albania in the framework of the democratizing processes in all the walks of life in Albania and voiced his readiness that the commission he chairs will respond positively to the demands of the Presidency of the People's Assembly on granting the necessary juridical experience, drafting the specific programs in this direction, on Albania's speedy participation in the commission, on organising the parliamentarians', jurists' visits, etc. La Pergola said that Albania, which has important natural and human resources, preserving the necessary equilibriums, has all the possibilities to develop and adhere as soon as possible to the European family.

Attending the meeting were the vice-chairmen of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Aleksander Meksi, and Lush Perpali.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in Tirana, Torquato Cardilli.

State Bank's Gjyzari Receives IMF Delegation

AU0905142391 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 9 (ATA)—On May 8, before noon, the general director of the Albanian State Bank, Niko Gjyzari, received the second mission of the International Monetary Fund, headed by Prof. Mario Blayer.

After wishing welcome, he voiced his confidence that the second IMF mission will commit itself in Albania's admittance to the International Monetary Fund. Our government too, he pointed out, has committed itself to carry through Albania's membership in this important international monetary and financial organism. To this end we have intensified the work. Many problems of the economic reform we are applying, on which we need also your opinion, have been crystallized. I wanted to meet with you, Niko Gjyzari stressed, to discuss together some issues of interest, as those on the economic situation we are living in and financial matters, on the normalisation of relations with the banks, to exchange views on the implementation of the economic reform, etc.

Likewise, he underscored that the economic program of the Albanian Government, to be put forth to the People's Assembly, will give new priorities to the improvement of the situation at home, and the relations with states and international organisms.

On his part, Prof. Mario Blayer thanked for the warm reception and said want to communicate what we have so far achieved, on what things we want to talk about with you. The aim of the second mission of the IMF, he said, is to carry through the process of Albania's membership to the International Monetary Fund. To this end we should complete the documentation regarding the structure of the economy, to obtain all the necessary information to calculate the quota of membership. In order to realize this, Prof. Blayer said, we need your help. In March, when we were in Albania, we worked to gather the technical material, now other steps forward should be made on legislation. We will discuss together on the situation of the economic relations with foreign countries, on current economic problems, on your immediate plans on stability, where we can actually render our assistance, etc. I think, he said, that we should not wait for the membership, but try to apply other forms of work as well. You have many problems.

On the same day, in the surroundings of the Ministry of Finances and the Albanian State Bank, the members of the IMF mission had joint and separate meetings with officials and specialists of the Ministry of Finances, Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, of the Albanian State Bank and the Albanian State Bank for Foreign Relations, in which they talked on various economic and financial problems of the country, as of the foreign currency situation, export import, finances, trade, as well as on problems of the monetary and financial income of the population, which are a direct object of the data the IMF mission will gather to prepare the final report on the economic-financial situation of Albania.

Paper Views Trade Union Rivalries

AU0905173691 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 3 May 91 p 3

[Kleo Lati article: "Which Trade Union Are You With?"]

[Text] Pluralism in Albanian political and social life did not merely bring about the birth of different parties, like the Democratic, Republican, Ecology, and Agrarian parties, the Party of National Unity, and the Social Democratic Party (a list that I do not think ends here). It did not merely bring greater freedom for the expression of opinion, something we see in what is written every day in the press, where the most various kinds of discussions

and views are found. Pluralism brought many things. It brought, among other things, the creation of organizations within the fold of the trade union movement of our country's working class: the councils and trade union federations in different enterprises and sectors as a result of the reform of the Trade Unions of Albania [BPSh] and the Union of Free and Independent Trade Unions of Albania [Bashkimi i Sindikatave te Lira e te Pavarura te Shqiperise—BSP]. If, at first, when other political parties appeared on the scene, people were always asking "Which party are you with?," the people answered this question at the 31 March elections, and people are now asking, especially in enterprises, "Which trade union are you with?" This is not simply a question to satisfy curiosity. The problem is much more complex: It concerns the trust that a worker himself bestows and the question of to whom he will give his "vote" to defend his rights, to the BSP or to the councils and trade union federations that have arisen as a result of the reform of the BPSh? These councils and trade union federations are also independent and are beyond the control and diktat of the party that until yesterday used them as a "transmission belt." Practice is showing very clearly that these councils and trade union federations are acting independently, accepting only the "diktat" of workers' interests and just demands.

However, a fact is a fact. Workers are now faced with two alternatives that find tangible expression in that everyday question: "Which trade union are you with?" There are many people who sincerely believe in the reform of the BPSh and trust that the councils and trade union federations (and shortly the confederation) will more worthily defend workers' interests in key, not subsidiary issues. There are also those who have lost faith in the BPSh and have joined the BSP. This is their right, which stems from the opportunity that pluralism provides people to give their votes to the party or organization that they think will best represent and defend their interests. However, we are dealing here with the uncertainty and insecurity noticeable among some people who ask "Whom should I trust, this trade union or the other one?" Some time ago, one of the managing comrades from the enterprise of the New Port in Vlore told us that there they are still not sure which trade union they will join. One can find other examples elsewhere, just as one can find examples showing that there are people within the same enterprise who have joined different trade unions. What is still worse is that the Agricultural Trade Union Federation has been formed, but a trade union council in a Tirana agricultural enterprise suddenly announced its "divorce" from the federation and is "flirting" with the BSP. Of course, this is its right, but why this uncertainty and this desertion of the duties and responsibilities with which the council has been entrusted?

If the people voted for political parties on 31 March, giving their votes to the parties in which they had placed their trust and hopes, the workers class and other working people are now "voting" for the trade union movement. There are now two organizations in this movement, each with its own aims and program, its own press, and its own members. Of course, this is a "race." The author of this article only hopes that the working class itself will win at the end of this "race." "Which trade union are you with?"

Time is now answering this question and will do so more fully in the future. Our trade union has authority and will be able to fulfill item by item all the demands of our working people. It will ask all employers and the government for what is the workers' due.

Trade Minister Denies Further Tank Sales

LD1005035191 Prague CTK in English 0008 GMT 10 May 91

[Text] Prague May 10 (CTK)—"No exports of 5,500 Czechoslovak tanks and further military technology are being discussed", Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay told CTK here today.

Referring to today's information in the American daily THE WALL STREET JOURNAL according to which Czechoslovakia plans to export further 5,500 weapons which should have been destroyed, Baksay said the exports of tanks to Syria are an isolated action. Czechoslovakia is well aware of the political danger in territories to which the country could export its weapons, as well as of the possibility of their misuse, he said.

Calfa Interviewed on Arms Sale Decision

LD0905092291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 8 May 91

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded, Calfa speaks in Slovak]

[Text] We have awaited the return of Prime Minister Marian Calfa from his visit to Israel with some excitement, hoping that he would throw light on speculations of our and foreign press agencies about exports of Czechoslovak arms, and above all tanks, to Syria and Iran.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, your alleged statement that tanks are goods for sale as anything else and that we would sell them to anyone, is this in fact a matter of distortion due to translation, or does this mean a change in government policy?

[Calfa] No. It was, as such cases usually are, a single sentence taken out of context without saying what was said before and after it. This sentence was spoken in connection with a reply to a question concerning our relationship with Syria and the alleged decision on the sale of tanks. I have confirmed—both to the press and to Prime Minister Shamir and President Herzog—that we in Czechoslovakia have such an economic and social situation that we simply view tanks as good made by a vast number of people in Slovakia, that they need work, and that we are not interested in selling these goods if we find other work for these people.

I said this more as a plea for them to help us in the economic situation, for them not to force us to make goods which we do not, after all, want to make, because we want to make peaceful goods, marketable goods, healthy goods that lay some foundations for the future. I must say, unlike our press, which I have briefly familiarized myself with now, both Prime Minister Shamir and the Israeli press have understood the situation and basically have concluded that it is necessary to help us in our economic situation, above all concerning the conversion.

[Reporter] The possible export of tanks to Syria could threaten our relations with the United States, could it not?

[Calfa] I think not. It is a bit more complicated than this: The United States is also a great exporter of arms. I understand the U.S. stand. It worries about the export of those arms. It should be said, however, that it should worry just as much about the fate of those people who have no other jobs than those in the arms industry.

Sladek Lodges New Charges Against Havel

LD0905090891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 8 May 91

[Text] Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, has expanded the charge against President Vaclav Havel, who allegedly accused Sladek of Hitlerism and anti-Semitism. Sladek lodged his initial charges concerning the protection of the individual at Prague Second Ward Court on 29 April. As learned from today's press conference, he now adds to his charges the transcript of the president's Lany talks containing statements which, according to Miroslav Sladek, could cause moral damage to the plaintiff. He rejected all accusations of racism, Hitlerism, and anti-Semitism.

Kucerak Addresses Right-Wing Meeting

LD0905213491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] About 500 people took part in a meeting under the title of "For Civic Democracy," held in Bratislava today by civic and right-wing parties—the New Right Wing, the Czechoslovak National Congress, the Republican Party of Slovakia, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Club of Involved Nonparty Members, and (?Human) in cooperation with Public Against Violence [VPN].

Jozef Kucerak, chairman of the VPN Slovak Council, drew attention in his address to the fact that we must continue to struggle for freedom and democracy. He analyzed the period of the past few weeks when the legislature and democracy went through a difficult test. He stressed that this period represented a conflict of philosophies and attitudes toward solving serious social problems. We shall create a civic power that will recognize the principles of democracy and market economy, a society that wants to live in a true democracy without any ill intentions toward the citizens in the Czech Republic, Josef Kucerak stressed.

Kucerak Interviewed on Political Trends

LD0905181191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2040 GMT 8 May 91

[Interview with Jozef Kucerak, Public Against Violence Slovak Council chairman, by unidentified reporter in Bratislava on 8 May—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] [passage omitted] Mr. Kucerak, I have a very specific question. Questions are being heard in various districts of Slovakia that ask for the recall of the deputies of the Slovak National Council or the Federal Assembly who stood for the Public Against Violence [VPN]. Mainly, this is the so-called recall on the part of the trade unions, where, as we know, great numbers of the former members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party have hidden. How do you see this campaign, so to speak?

[Kucerak] Well, we should get used to certain principles of parliamentary democracy, remain faithful to these principles, and protect them. Our citizens have elected deputies for a certain term, in this case for two years, and that is why various acts to pressure, especially certain political pressures enacted by trade unions, run counter to the principles of parliamentary democracy, and we should not support them.

[Reporter] Mr. Chairman, the former unity of Civic Forum and VPN was unequivocal. Civic Forum, however, was crystallized in various political parties and movements. To which movement or party do you personally feel the closest? We have even heard on Czechoslovak TV that VPN could become a political party quite soon.

[Kucerak] Well, it is not quite so. Naturally, in the next two or three months we shall discuss in our movement whether or not to accept certain rules that would resemble rules typical of a party, but one does not say clearly that it must be a party. We shall define our movement, but we have in fact been divided into two parts: all the movements of parties that are left-wing, social democratic, including For a Democratic Slovakia movement, all the parties and movements that want to restore socialism despite the fact that it cannot be restored—are to the left of us. As to cooperation with Civic Forum—it is premature to say which stream within Civic Forum we would want to cooperate with, but by saying that we do not want to lean on left-wing values, we are saying where our best and greatest partners will be. [passage omitted]

If you allow me, I should like to address in conclusion the question of splitting our movement into two parts. By virtue of this, we have put ourselves into a position by which we shall subscribe to the principles of a strong parliamentary democracy and a strong market economy, which is a guarantee of strong social securities, the principles of the existence of a true and functioning federation of two equal republics, and the principle of balancing civic values and national interests, where we shall not insert nationalistiic or national interests where they do not belong.

Meciar Warns of Trend To 'Monopolize' Information

LD0905085391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 8 May 91

[Excerpts] A meeting of the leadership of the For a Democratic Slovakia movement with journalists took place in Bratislava today. Movement Chairman Vladimir Meciar, Rudolf Filkus, Michal Kovac, and Milan Knazko were present. The press conference ended only a few minutes ago. Bohus Gecy reports.

[Gecy] [passage omitted] Vladimir Meciar reported on the conclusions of the movement leadership's deliberations in the current political situation. The movement requires a restructuring of the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium in accordance with proportional representation because, in their view, the current composition does not reflect the balance of forces in the plenum itself and less so in the electorate. Ministers Kovac and Filkus, who are members of the movement, resigned because the entire movement is going into the opposition. At the same time, however, in the interest of preserving some sort of a continuity, they expressed willingness to help acquaint new ministers with the problems, possibly in sharing powers, specifically regarding to the Ministry of Strategic Planning.

According to Vladimir Meciar, the present government is continuing more or less along the line followed by the government that he chaired. In this connection he noted that the Movement for Democratic Slovakia contains strong personalities who are capable of holding ministerial posts, something which, in his view, cannot be said about Public Against Violence and the Christian Democratic Movement.

He also drew attention to the fact that the new government's interest in the mass media is beginning to show in the desire to achieve a certain regulation of journalists' views. He said in this connection: The changes that have taken place in the government mean a broader social impact and, in this broader context, also mean impact on information policy. We are noticing trends to monopolize information policy for the benefit of a certain political party or political movement. For this reason we have decided that it will be necessary to adopt efficient steps to safeguard the plurality of views that could be expressed in all mass media. That is why the first resolution says that as soon as the first journalist is sacked for expressing his views, the For a Democratic Slovakia movement will set up a committee for the protection of democracy and the protection of freedom of mass media and will adopt appropriate political measures to prevent such distortions.

Meciar Interviewed on Movement Split

AU1005075191 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Vladimir Meciar, For a Democratic Slovakia movement chairman, by Jozef Tinka, held in "Meciar's car parked in one of Trencin's housing developments a few days ago": "The Joys and Sorrows of Frankness"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Tinka] You agree with your opponents that the Slovak Government was not functional. What degree of responsibility for its nonfunctioning do you ascribe to yourself and to the other government members?

[Meciar] The question that arose was not simply about people, but about relationships. What should have remained an internal party affair was carried over to the government and to the legislature in an attempt to wind up the affair earlier. This should not have happened, because internal party matters are internal party matters, and the administration of the state is something altogether different. These two things should not have been lumped together.

I stood at a crossroads and had the opportunity to consider whether to stay in the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement or to depart from it. If I stayed, I would have to make a great number of compromises—very hard compromises—with myself and my conscience.

When I learned that the decision had essentially been made for me, I at least tried to build the foundations of a new political structure that would represent a healthy political center in Slovakia. This is necessary because the VPN has been veering to the right, where it has been pushed by Messrs. Kucerak and Gal and by one lady on the VPN Slovak Council.

[Tinka] The original VPN and the For a Democratic Slovakia platform [ZDS] both subscribe to the VPN's "A Chance for Slovakia" electoral platform. Hence, this program represents the common point of departure for the activities of two different political subjects. At the same time, however, it pits one against the other. Is this not an extraordinary situation?

[Meciar] It is a certain specific feature of developments in Slovakia. There was a chance for the two VPN factions to be united by the common program, but this chance was missed. Unlike the Civic Forum, no common body has been formed by the two factions because each side's interpretation of "A Chance of Slovakia" platform is completely different.

We understand all five pillars of the program as being equal in value, rather than emphasizing just two of them. We believe that everything that we promised must be fulfilled. We believe that it would not be good if we did not deliver what we promised, and that is why we had to part ways. For a long time, the ZDS was regarded as legitimate [as published], which complicated mutual contact. We were not even invited to the talks on the composition of the government; our ministers were literally thrown out with no grounds. How could we partake in the execution of political power in such a situation? The fact that the VPN, before it split, handed power to the Christian Democrats was, in my opinion, an outrageous deception of the public. Getting rid of the prime minister only to be able to hand power over to a different political movement is something unprecedented.

In other words, we have been driven into opposition, but we do not want to destroy Slovakia. We want to build on everything that is healthy and reasonable here.

[Tinka] What does the ZDS intend to do to gain a clear profile, and with what ambitions does it want to establish itself on the Slovak political scene?

[Meciar] It will remain a party of the center, a civic party or movement, until it adopts a different profile. And our ambitions? We want to be a dignified opposition partner to the present government coalition and strive consistently to win the voters' favor in the next elections.

[Tinka] What is your attitude toward Communists—that is, the Union of Communists of Slovakia and the Communist Party of Slovakia '91—and what is your attitude toward the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]?

[Meciar] Even though they claim to have dissociated themselves from the mistakes of the past, the Communist Parties that have emerged have retained their ideology, and the changes in their organizational structures are relatively minor. By having assumed the original name and following up on the Communist Party's tradition, these parties do not elicit much trustworthiness.

As for the SDL, I assess it as an attempt by the intellectual wing of this party to create a new and less-compromised platform that would correspond to the demands made on a modern left-wing party. Its steps differ somewhat [from those of the two aforementioned Communist Parties]. However, I do not identify with the SDL either because I see a solution to the situation in Slovakia in the formation of a party of the center.

As for the other political groups operating in Slovakia, their profile is generally known. [passage omitted]

[Tinka] Let us change the subject. I will be a little personal. There is a saying about there being too much of a good thing. Are you afraid of your own popularity?

[Meciar] It have never sought popularity. If I am very popular today, this popularity is not linked only with Meciar as a person but also with the fear of the program of the others. That is, I am not popular because I am Vladimir Meciar and because I am the way I am but, rather, because the others are the way they are. [passage omitted]

It is difficult to be popular, immensely difficult, but it is gratifying to know that, wherever I go, I will always find a cup of water, a piece of bread, and a friendly word. Not all of my adversaries can say that.... [passage omitted]

[Tinka] I switched off my recorder. The ex-prime minister relaxed and carried on. He spoke about the backstage of big politics, about the past and the present, about his erstwhile illegal activity, about all the things that have changed and about how reality differs from his ideas.

He brought the conversation round to the surreptitiously given secret material that recently so stirred up the smooth surface of goings-on among the government elite. He even uttered names.... Of course, he is not the only one who knows them. Certain personalities are bound to be put out of countenance when they learn how corrupt some relations among relatives were. [passage omitted]

Minister Hoffmann Interviewed on Reform, Slovakia

AU0805082391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech and Slovak 2 May 91 p 4

[Interview with Federal Minister for Strategic Planning Pavel Hoffmann by Marcela Doleckova; place and date not given: "The State in a New Role"—questions in Czech, answers in Slovak]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Doleckova] The economic reform scenario assumed that the stage of a general shock would be followed by a period of adaptation. When do you expect this period to start? Is it becoming clear, at least in rough outlines, which companies will adapt and which will not survive?

[Hoffmann] The logic of the scenario is rather transparent in this regard. The price liberalization, the liberalization of foreign trade, and the introduction of internal convertibility actually establish prerequisites for market signals to develop in a natural way and to make themselves felt in practice. They represent the foundations that allow companies to orient themselves, to make decisions, and to adapt themselves. In other words, they do not have to adapt in a completely nontransparent environment.

There is a problem here, of course: Privatization has been slow so far, which means that monopolies continue to prevail and an environment of real competition has not yet been created. We are trying to make up for this by means of external competition and by applying antimonopoly legislation. We are confident that the phase of adaptation will unfold intensively as early as the second half of this year. It should be based on the companies' very specific ideas about their long-term potentials and plans and underpinned by better knowledge of market conditions and the possibilities of cooperation with foreign partners.

It is extremely important to maintain such a quality of the general economic environment as will provide companies not only with objective signals but also with sufficient scope for the practical implementation of adaptation projects. In other words, the state must see to it that the overall economic conditions are favorable for the process of adaptation and not make decisions in lieu of companies on what specifically they should do.

[Doleckova] Does the state intend to provide incentives for companies that are capable of adapting [to the conditions of market economy]?

[Hoffmann] That is an altogether different perspective. Based on a transparent market environment, it is possible to proceed to the implementation of a general structural policy. This policy consists, in fact, of a certain system of preferences for any subject that will meet conditions set by the state. These preferences can, for example, be tied to an important change in technology, to the introduction of an ecologically clean production, or to the development of a major export program. There exist certain criteria for the extension of these preferences, which can be claimed by any company that meets the relevant conditions (the English have about 90 such criteria). But this has nothing in common with the state pushing companies into some activities or even directly ordering them to pursue them.

[Doleckova] But small starting private businesses have the feeling that they get little support from the state in terms of the creation of a suitable environment.

[Hoffmann] If this is meant as a general statement, it definitely does not hold true. After all, they enjoy tax benefits (the possibility of a tax holiday for up to two years) and they are also at an advantage in the area of regulatory levies on wages. Companies with fewer than 25 employees are exempted from these regulatory levies completely. There exist, in my opinion, two main important problems in this area. It is, first and foremost, the weakness of our capital market and the underdeveloped banking services. This is an evident impediment but a certain improvement is in the offing even here. In Slovakia, for example, a special bank is in the process of being established that will support only small and medium-sized businesses. It will secure access to domestic and foreign sources of finance under advantageous terms. The second problem is that small and medium-sized businesses are facing the barrier of our underdeveloped market in Czechoslovakia and its present unfavorable situation. This is reflected in considerable problems concerning their supplies, technical equipment, and production and consulting services. To a large degree, these problems are due to the general state of our economy, the high degree of monopolization in our economy, its unfavorable organizational structure, and the like.

[Doleckova] You mentioned that a specialized bank is about to be established in Slovakia that will extend favorable credits to small businesses. I will return to the

issue of Slovakia in general. The proposition is being raised time and again that the implementation of economic reform in Slovakia should be different from its implementation in the Czech Republic.

[Hoffmann] I believe that we cannot have two different reforms in a single economy, or in an economy that we want to maintain as a single economy, in an economy with a functioning homogeneous market and with a free movement of all production factors, in an economy in which the principles of a rational allocation of resources are to be applied. That is natural. Another question is, of course, whether disparate regional conditions or effects of the reform should not lead to a different practical application of the reform—for example, as regards the method of applying certain instruments and the intensity and speed at which individual reform steps are taken. This seems to be more acceptable at first glance [than two different reforms], but it, too, is fraught with considerable danger. This danger resides in the fact that, even with changed budget rules, the consequences of disparate basic methods can pass over from one part of our economy to the other. This means that, with a single currency, a different budget policy in Slovakia, for example, can bring about a different rate of inflation there, the negative concomitant effects of which can then be transferred to the other part of the state as well. This raises the question of principle whether a positive solution really lies in a different method of the reform's implementation or whether it would not be better, precisely in the interest of a positive solution, to activate one of the key functions of the federal level, which should avail itself of powers and resources for the implementation of an active regional policy. This is, in my opinion, the most feasible and also the most effective path. The solution to regional problems that have an impact on the economy as a whole should be coordinated and implemented by the federation, naturally on the basis of full consensus with the governments of the republics.

[Doleckova] Is it generally known in Slovakia that there exist certain key elements of the Slovak economy that the Slovak Republic is not capable of resolving on its own, without a solution on the federal level?

[Hoffmann] We have already discussed two possible solutions. The third remaining possibility is a massive inflow of foreign capital (to the armaments industry, for example, or to other problematic branches). The scale of this capital inflow would have to be such that it would fully outweigh Slovakia's disadvantageous starting position. Undoubtedly, it is not very realistic to expect something like that. [passage omitted]

[Doleckova] Do you believe that a paradise for investors is emerging in Czechoslovakia?

[Hoffmann] I believe that it is possible to turn the CSFR into a paradise for investors. There exist objective as well as subjective conditions for that. What is still lacking, however, is a sufficiently stable sociopolitical climate. The further prospects in this regard will become clear relatively soon, in connection with the drafting of new constitutions, once we decide on the arrangement of our state. A homogeneous system is, for a number of reasons, more advantageous for the implementation of the reform than a system in which powers are too deeply structured. The experience we have acquired since the adoption of the law on the division of powers shows that the future model must have a firm internal concept that is determined in advance. It is necessary, above all, to have a clear idea about how the economic system of the federation is supposed to work in the long run, what tasks it is supposed to fulfill, and what main effects it is supposed to yield. Only from such a cohesive concept is it possible to derive the method of dividing powers, instead of proceeding vice versa, from the isolated agreement on individual powers toward an indefinite final outcome.

Country Appeals For Debt Reduction

LD0905225291 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2037 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Poland's chief debt negotiator, Deputy Finance Minister Janusz Sawicki, has called on Western commercial banks to follow the governments and reduce Polish debts. He reported that as a goodwill gesture the Polish Government would pay the banks $100 million in interest arrears and would start transferring 20 percent of current interest to the Bank for International Settlements in Basle. Poland has not been paying interest to commercial banks since the end of 1989.

Refugee Official Speaks on Lithuanian Deserters

LD0805222991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 8 May 91

[Text] Colonel Zbigniew Skoczylas, the government's plenipotentiary for refugees, has spoken about the handing over of two Lithuanian soldiers to the Soviet authorities. This is reported by today's press. They were handed over to the authorities in Legnica as deserters, the colonel told GAZETA WYBORCZA, in accordance with binding intergovernmental agreements on the status of Soviet troops in Poland.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY stressed that it was incomprehensible why one of the deserters was detained and the other was released by the authorities in Legnica.

This case has aroused much controversy in Poland and in Lithuania. The Lithuanian Information Bureau recalls the fact that the Polish side had earlier declared that Lithuanians would not be deported. ZYCIE WARSZAWY cites the position of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the interstate agreement of December 1956, ratified by the Polish and Soviet legislatures on the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland continues to be binding.

Solidarity Officials Criticize Government Policy

LD0905090391 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT 8 May 91

[Text] Gdansk, May 8—The Solidarity National Commission considered the Solidarity-government talks on May 6 and before as a total failure because the unionists managed to win no concessions from the government adhering to its austerity programme.

The commission's conference today was dominated by dispute on the union-government strategy. About 30 speakers bitterly criticized the government for its persistence in pursuing the economic policy which, they said, is not accepted by society. Consequently, the commission had to review Solidarity's role in the reforms.

"We do want market economy and parliamentary democracy but worker rights must be respected," the commission declared. Maciej Jankowski of Mazowsze Solidarity branch said that the government is building a system that gives no hope to the people and he charged that "if that turns out necessary, we can overthrow this system."

Jankowski proposed writing a union report on the present situation to show "where and how Solidarity was cheated by the government," and he called for a nationwide protest action.

"Let us not seek a cooperation strategy," said Tadeusz Jedynak of Katowice. "A union that crushed the (old) system cannot protect the people today. We must declare a vote of no-confidence in the economic policy," he called. Andrzej Slowik of Lodz put the predominating views in a nutshell: "We must demand a change of the economic policy or a change of the cabinet. This government is doomed anyway and we may fall with it."

A single sober voice came from Solidarity deputy leader Bogdan Borusewicz of Gdansk who recalled that it may be easy to break talks with the government but it is Solidarity who usually needs these talks.

The commission will formulate its official stance on the talks with the government, the current situation, and the proposed protest action during tomorrow's meeting.

It appointed Andrzej Adamczyk, former chief of the foreign relations office in the Silesian union branch, spokesman for the Solidarity National Commission.

Criticism Continues

LD0905195791 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1735 GMT 9 May 91

[Antoni Popov report from Gdansk]

[Excerpts] The most important item on the second day of the plenary debate of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity National Commission [KK] was the union strategy for action in the context of what is happening in Poland. Andrzej Slowik, chairman of the Lodz region of Solidarity, had this to say:

[Begin Slowik recording] The proposals in the KK resolution have been put into practice for six months now in Lodz region, perhaps because it is there that all the negative elements we are protesting made their earliest appearance. [passage omitted] We are concentrating here mainly on criticism of government measures, which can be summed up very briefly: a restrictive fiscal policy that limits the population's buying power and contributes to the spiral of recession. On the other hand, there is also a lack of effective action by the institutions that control observance of the law. I mean treasury chambers, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Supreme Chamber of Control. A particular case in point is the extension of the period for which the act on the return of property seized at the expense of the state treasury is in force. I think that immunity from punishment causes morbid phenomena in the process of privatization, of ownership transformations, which we trade unionists see every day in the form of depriving employees of their rights. Where companies are set up, workers' councils are done away with; the trade union stops functioning in practice. We

expect more government responsibility, and what might be unattractively termed a kind of socialization of economic transformations so people are seen as the decisive factor of the success of the economic reforms. [end recording]

Solidarity Declares 22 May Day of Protest

LD0905153891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1400 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] By a decision of the National Commission of Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, 22 May is to be a day of a national trade union protest against the mistakes in the government's economic and social policy. At a meeting in Gdansk it was also decided that a trade union delegation would go to the Belweder Palace to explain to the president the reasons for holding the protest action.

Resignations Over Economic Meeting Averted

LD0905085191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 May 91

[Text] Andrzej Zarebski, government press spokesman, said during a meeting with members of the Liberal Journalists' Club that talks are going on between the president's and prime minister's representatives on the formula of an economists' consultative meeting in the Belweder planned for 17-18 May. The proposal to the invited members of the government to speak jointly on the subjects under discussion is not acceptable, the government spokesman said. In his opinion, the political tension provoked by the original purpose of the meeting, to present an accounting of the effects of the government's economic policy, has been reduced. The spokesman added that there had been danger of a government crisis and its members handing in their resignation. Now that danger has been reduced.

Bielecki Comments on U.S. Investment Problems

LD0905193191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1735 GMT 9 May 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki by unidentified reporter in Gdansk; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki took part in a Polish-American seminar held in Gdansk on foreign investment in Poland. He spoke to our reporter:

[Bielecki] It is a process of convergence at the moment, which we need. We on the one hand create the legislative possibilities for them to act by directly dealing with housing affairs as well as legislation on foreign investment. They, for their part, try to break through the barriers so their technology has the easiest possible access to the Polish market. Then there is the problem of accumulating the capital essential to finance this type of long-term investment. That is why I talked so much about stabilization, about a sense of security, for it is difficult to invest and provide the financing, as we say, over a dozen years or so in conditions of uncertainty. Because there is a recession in the building construction industry in America, there is a chance to win over those firms, which—as you heard—are not at all aware of the high profits. They think 15 percent is a very fair, very attractive profit for operating in Poland; and at the moment, there are still none of the typical solutions applied in their countries. For example, mortgage insurance institutions were mentioned, a basic solution, but one which is probably also linked to the issue of eviction, which does not exist in Poland and without that, in turn, it is hard to speak about safeguarding the interests of the investor, for otherwise he will be giving away and not selling the apartments.

[Reporter] Are you afraid of the comparison that was drawn between Poland and a minefield?

[Bielecki] I am not afraid, for these are the facts. One should not run away from the facts; one should not bury one's head in the sand. As happened here, one has to tell the truth.

Democratic Union's Krakow Convention Reported

PM1005085991 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Apr 91 pp 1-2

[Katarzyna Kolenda report: "UD in Krakow: Pact Between Rational Forces in Poland's Interest"]

[Text] The UD [Democratic Union] delegates from Poland's southern regions will attend their party's unification congress (11-12 May) armed with their own program—formulated yesterday—which will address all essential political, economic, and statutory questions.

"The congress must produce a cohesive political party with an identity of its own," Professor Bronislaw Geremek, UD Parliamentary Club chairman and guest of yesterday's UD convention in Krakow, told us at the convention. "Society does not take kindly to political splits and divisions. It sees them not as evidence of the progress made by democracy but as an expression of collective egoism. We are facing a veil of tears through which all postcommunist countries must pass. The most difficult task—but at the same time the most important—is to make things easy for our voting citizens. The UD must find an answer to the question of how to achieve this.

"If we support the government and the reform program it pursues, we run counter to public expectations. On the other hand, we want to be a party of reason."

Geremek also pointed to the possibility of cooperation with Solidarity.

After a day-long, debate the delegates approved a resolution that they will take with them to the UD unification congress in Warsaw.

Support Bielecki, Call In Solidarity

While preserving the right to critically assess the work of the government, the UD should support the reforming economic policy initiated by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and continued by Prime Ministers Bielecki and Balcerowicz. The UD convention views with concern and anxiety the split in the current government and asserts that its continuation will damage the reforms already under way.

A task group headed by Jan Rokita concluded that Solidarity's historic mission has not yet been fulfilled and concluded. The UD recognizes the Solidarity trade union as an important partner in the task of reforming the state and its economy. Delegates have recommended that the UD approach Solidarity with a proposal to formulate the principles of a joint "Pact for Poland." Jan Rokita also announced that the UD would conduct talks with representatives of citizens committees, especially those that have distanced themselves from the National Citizens Committee's decision to form an alliance with the Center Accord group.

During yesterday's meeting it was decided—although the decisions was reached only after much controversy—that the Krakow convention would declare itself in favor of preserving a state of balance between different political milieus which together make up the UD. According to Jan Rokita, after the Congress the Citizens Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] group and the Forum of the Democratic Right [FPD] should both be removed from the register of political parties. The matter of the extensive privileges granted to individual factions within the already unified UD aroused considerable reservations.

Furthermore, Jan Rokita declared that after the congress the party should elect Tadeusz Mazowiecki as chairman and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Aleksander Hall, and Jacek Kuron as his deputies. In Rokita's opinion, the party's main board should also include Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Club, who yesterday publicly declared that he was officially joining the UD parliamentary election campaign.

State To Be Liberal, But Also Protective

Economic issues were discussed by the task team headed by Tadeusz Syryjczyk and Jan Okonski. The UD's economic program should favor the liberal model of the economy as regards the production sphere, support private entrepreneurship, work toward achieving monetary stability, and continue the anti-inflation policy. At the same time, the UD believes that the assumption of the underlying premise of the state's protective role toward the weakest social groups is the definite precondition for successful and efficient implementation of the economic reform.

The convention failed to reach a joint position on Jacek Kuron's proposal to hold a general referendum on the admissibility of abortion. In the opinion of UD activists, this question could disturb the envisaged course of the approaching unification congress. It was therefore agreed that it would be a mistake to announce the referendum project before the congress. However, opinions were divided on this subject and, as a result, delegates from Poland's southern region were instructed not to address the congress on the subject during its debates in Warsaw.

Parliament Discusses Bill on National Security

AU0905160291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1435 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/5/1991—On Thursday [9 May], the Senate centered its debates on the bill regarding Romania's national security.

Paragraph 1, under Article 3, stipulates that initiating, organizing, committing or supporting in any way fascist, racist, antisemitic, revisionist, separatist or any other extremist actions, as well as inciting to anticonstitutional or antidemocratic actions are threats against Romania's national security.

Ivan Sabin, National Liberal Party representative, asked communist actions be added thereto. Although session chairman Vasile Mois said that the addition of the word "totalitarian" whether for the right or for the left, should meet the opposition's demand, the initiators' representative asked the text be rediscussed by all commissions that had approved it.

Debates on this normative act will be resumed next week.

According to an emergency procedure, the Senate's next session is planned to start discussions on two bills: the first concerns the pay of Romania's president and government and of the staff of the Presidency, government and other executive bodies and the second, the pay of the staff in the judiciary.

Petre Roman-Mircea Druc Meeting Reported

AU0905213891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2057 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/5/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman had talks on Thursday [9 May] with the Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Druc on questions concerning the intensification of cooperation between Bucharest and Chisinau [Kishinev].

The talks were held at Stinca-Costesti, a settlement which, as Premier Roman assessed, will become one of the main border crossing points over the Prut.

Set already during the previous visit Prime Minister Druc paid to Romania, the Thursday meeting was an opportunity to survey important bilateral cooperation matters. Stress was laid on several important elements, assessed as attainable in the near future. In that context, Prime Minister Petre Roman announced that Romania would deliver technological lines for the manufacture of construction materials, would expand relations in the field of education more particularly by intensifying exchanges of students and pupils, would develop economic activities in the border area.

Information and ideas were exchanged regarding the administrative structures in Romania and the Republic of Moldova, domains in which our country is to grant the necessary assistance and expertise to help crystallizing them in consonance with European integration and construction.

"The European vocation of Romania, we are convinced, is also the Republic of Moldova," stated Premier Roman saying that his colloquitor reiterated Chisinau's openness to the West, to Romania in the first place, to Europe as a whole. Premier Petre Roman also said that the next steps were set to develop the cooperation between Romania and the Republic of Moldova and that aspects were clarified concerning the content of the treaty signed by presidents Ion Iliescu and Mikhail Gorbachev.

"I am sorry that we cannot see each other more often, since today I have seen for myself that a meeting, even if short, which allows for surpassing bureaucratic, technical, technological barriers, is far more efficient, stated the Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Druc when he met with Premier Petre Roman at Stinca-Costesti.

Mircea Druc said he was satisfied that Mr. Roman had accepted the establishment of direct relations between neighboring counties, and not only through Chisinau and Bucharest. In that context he invited the Romanian businessmen to "synchronize" themselves with partners from the Republic of Moldova "to produce more, better what can be sold, even on the Soviet market, for hard currency. We," Mr. Druc said, "have what you lack and you have what we don't. We have a lot of raw materials, you a machine building industry. If we begin with the agro-industrial complex and other several branches, we could become highly competitive even on the Soviet market also meeting the requirements of our own citizens," Mr. Mircea Druc stressed.

Reminding that during his talks with Prime Minister Roman the question of the recently concluded treaty between Romania and the USSR was also approached, Premier Druc assessed it as "a step forward as compared to the treaties that had been concluded between Romania and the Soviet Union before" attaching great importance to the article which stipulates the possibility that Romania can have direct relations with all the republics.

Iliescu's Visit to Dambiovita County Reported

AU0905213991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2110 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/5/1991—The updating of technological lines, the supply of raw materials, the breaking of the economic and financial "deadlock", increase of production and wages, standard of living were the main questions on which focused President Ion Iliescu's dialogue with decision makers and employees of the special steel combine and the electric bulb manufacturing enterprise "Romlux" of Tirgoviste.

During his visit to Gaesti and Tirgoviste the Romanian head of state was informed about the questions raised by

employees who showed their concern over the supply with raw materials of their enterprises, labor organisation, higher production and wages, as well as over the difficulties they have to cope with in the everyday life.

President Iliescu showed understanding for the population's anxiety expressing the belief that work would help normalizing the country's economic life without which decent living conditions cannot be ensured.

At the end of his visit to Dimbovita County Mr. Ion Iliescu said in an address that the whole country, the entire Romanian society were undergoing difficult transformations, that perturbing phenomena still occurred delaying and even braking the process of reforms and renewals meant to ensure a sound economy, an efficient activity, the only ones able to ensure social protection and better living conditions. Mr. Iliescu stressed that the newly created structures, the political parties must facilitate, through their activity, the restructuring of the society, the transition to the market economy. In that context, the president welcomed with satisfaction the climate of cooperation which seems to have been established among the political forces in the county.

Referring to the economic situation, President Iliescu showed that 1990 was a year of decline of industrial production, and that the major problem was the remaking of the productive chain in the national economy. Industry, he said, will till be a source of problems for several years to come. The president referred to the difficult situation in agriculture, to the budget deficit, to the difficulties of passing to a market economy and to those caused to the population by the price liberalization.

Romanian-Czechoslovak Trade Commission Report

AU0905214491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2031 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/5/1991—The Joint Romanian-Czechoslovak Commission for Foreign Trade held its proceedings in Bucharest over May 6-9 at the level of directors relations at the relevant Ministries of Romania and of the Federal Czech and Slovak Republic, with the participation of representatives of other ministries and organizations of the two countries.

A survey was made of the implementation of the commercial protocol for 1990, measures being agreed upon to cover the passive balance of payments of the Romanian side at the end of last year with deliveries of Romanian commodities.

The stage of commercial exchanges this year was also surveyed, in the new conditions of payment in convertible currency, measures being set to further develop them.

The Czechoslovak delegation met with Romanian economic agents whom they informed about the Czechoslovak legislation in the field of foreign economic relations.

Jovic Comments on Presidency Session

AU0905143291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 9 May 91

[Interview with SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, on the stands adopted by the SFRY Presidency at its two-day session that ended on 9 May, by Belgrade Television reporter Sonja Djuric; in Belgrade, on 9 May—recorded]

[Text] [Djuric] The SFRY Presidency has been meeting for two days and two nights. You have adopted several decisions and stands, and all decisions and stands were adopted unanimously. Can it now be considered that this is a turning point in the Presidency's work in resolving the Yugoslav crisis?

[Jovic] If everything is done to implement these decisions, this session could be the most important in the many years of the SFRY Presidency's work. The session is significant not only because it discussed this most critical moment in our development and our problems, it is also important because it adopted the kind of decisions that make it possible to positively resolve these problems, and because these decisions were adopted unanimously.

The difficulties were very great because of the different approaches to the problems and because of different interpretations of the causes of the conflicts—intolerance, fear, skirmishes, and so on. However, I think that after the two days and nights of strenuous work and patience, we achieved common assessments and common solutions, and what now remains for us is to put them into practice. I even think that we have found solutions that we must implement in practice.

Regarding the essence of the decisions we have made, they can be boiled down to three points.

The first point is that all conflicts must immediately stop and peace must be established. In this respect, we have worked out the responsibility of everyone from the local services through the republics to the services of the federation and even to the Yugoslav People's Army. We have established precise procedures and individual and collective responsibility and we have established that the authorities must cooperate to carry out these procedures.

It is particularly important that this procedure was established and precisely determined to prevent a clash between armed formations, to isolate their work so that those who could come into conflict do not do so, and, in this regard, to clearly establish the responsibility of certain groups, particularly Yugoslav People's Army services and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

The second thing that is very important is we agreed that the cause of the crisis and the cause of the conflicts are unresolved interethnic problems in the republic of Croatia and that dialogue must be opened on the basic questions of why there is dissatisfaction, why there is fear, and why there are conflicts.

We have established that a representative [paritetna] group be set up between the Croatian authorities and the legitimate representatives of the Serbian people. Also, we have listed all the issues, which are now well-known and that (?could) be expanded—from the issue of the constitutional position of the Serbian people to the issues of language, alphabet, the right to self-determination as far as secession, participation at a referendum, and so on—so that solutions can be found to all the problems that have to be discussed—solutions that will satisfy both sides and thus eliminate the reasons for the Serbian people's dissatisfaction, as well as the resistance that is being offered there and the fear that exists.

In this way, we have established a means by which the political problems in Croatia do not have to be resolved by force—for example, by dispatching militia units to exert force on the Serbian people or force one side to behave in accordance with the interests or desires of the other side. Instead, we have established a means by which we can establish peace and discuss the problems that really exist there.

The third issue that, in my opinion, is very important is the guarantee that all this will be carried out. The SFRY Presidency has clearly determined and declared that the Yugoslav People's Army is responsible for ensuring that these decisions are carried out—even though within these decisions everyone's responsibility has been established and they have to cooperate with each other. However, conditions have also been created for these decisions to be carried out and, in our opinion, consistent adherence to these stands and decisions will guarantee peace, guarantee the resolution of the political issues that caused the unrest to arise, and guarantee that we continue talks on the country's political future as normal, and that after peace has been established, the Army can return to its normal daily activities and not have to participate in solving everyday problems which probably will no longer exist.

[Djuric] I must ask you: Is there again a danger that these decisions that all the Presidency members made unanimously could be interpreted in different ways?

[Jovic] We cannot say that different convinctions do not still exist as to what the causes of this situation are and in what way this situation could be resolved. However, the decisions and stands are so clear that any other interpretation could only be understood as disagreement. However, individual disagreement can in no way mean that a question mark will be put over the implementation of the SFRY Presidency as the only authorized body, the presidents of the presidencies of the republics, including the president of the Croatian government—considering that the president of the Republic of Croatia was not present—also took part in its work, and that all solutions were found with the maximum possible participation and agreement of all. Of course, this does not mean that every one of them fully agreed with every point, but on the whole, they worked toward finding the most compromising, the best solutions. All members of the Presidency

took part in voting. We cannot achieve a greater degree of harmony, and this fact obliges us to implement this. I think that this is the last time that these decisions of the Presidency can be implemented, and, at the end of the day, I think that there is a far greater guarantee than has ever existed that they will be implemented.

[Djuric] Thank you, Mr. President.

Mesic, Bogicevic Discuss Presidency Statement

AU0905153791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 May 91

[Interview with Bogic Bogicevic and Stipe Mesic, members of the SFRY Presidency, by Momcilo Boskovic, "during a break in the Federal Chamber session" in Belgrade on 9 May—recorded]

[Text] [Boskovic] You made similar statements in the past but there were no results. In what way is the latest Presidency statement different from those issued in the past?

[Bogicevic] If one reads the statement carefully, one can see that the stands expressed are much more specific. Those put in charge of carrying out certain tasks have been specified and I think that as such they represent a guarantee for the successful accomplishment of these tasks.

[Boskovic] Did the Army get greater powers than in the past?

[Bogicevic] The Army has been given powers in the sense that its level of combat readiness has been increased. We concluded that by (?accomplishing) this program and by establishing peace, the need for the increased level of combat readiness and for the mobilization of members of the Yugoslav People's Army will disappear.

[Boskovic] How do you intend to carry out disarmament? You already made this decision in the past but did not manage to carry it out. This is not easy to do [words indistinct] paramilitary organizations.

[Bogicevic] We have to reach a specific agreement on how this should be done. If we manage to establish peace the need for all paramilitary formations, illegally armed citizens and groups will automatically disappear. I am sure that the authoritative services, in accordance with law, will remove arms and put them under control.

[Boskovic] Mr. Mesic, the public all over the country has been patiently waiting for a decision or a statement by the SFRY Presidency. There was anxiety. You kept extending the session. The session had already been going on for two days, many people were wondering what you were doing for such a long time?

[Mesic] The fact that the session kept being extended means that it was not easy to reach a solution. It is not easy to find a way out of the crisis considering the situation the country is in. A lot of work and effort was needed to find the best solution through well-argued discussions.

[Boskovic] I have unofficially learned—you know, journalists always have their source of information—that you were unanimous in adopting the statement, something that was not the case in the past.

[Mesic] Yes, that has never been the case in the past, but it was probably the gravity of the crisis that influenced us to find a solution. This is the only way out. The only ways to find a solution are dialogue and discussions, well-argued discussions.

[Boskovic] Are you optimistic about the further development of the situation in Yugoslavia?

[Mesic] Yes, absolutely. I am sure that no unconstitutional solution....

[Boskovic, interrupting] Split, Pakrac, Borovo, and some (?will not be repeated?)

[Mesic] (?Listen,) one cannot discount the possibility of this happening. These measures actually discourage all those who are trying in an illegitimate way to solve the situation and impose their political will. They encourage all those who are in favor of dialogue and democratic solutions.

Assembly Deputies Demand Resolution of Crisis

LD0905160391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1444 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Assembly Slobodan Gilgorijevic demanded today that the fate of the country be resolved by the parliament, because, he said, the negotiations of the six republican leaders were a disappointment.

Gligorijevic warned at today's meeting of the bicameral assembly's federal chamber that "time is running out" and that the "dilemma—federation, confederation or a third option—must be resolved as soon as possible."

He called for secret multi-party elections for the assembly's federal chamber to be called, and said all Yugoslavia's nations and citizens must decide by referendum whether they want a Yugoslavia and, if they do, in what shape.

Most deputies expressed doubt at the start of today's debate in the readiness and ability of the republican leaders to find a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

The latest developments have thus given a new twist to the debate in the federal chamber on the report Yugoslav Presidency President Borisav Jovic submitted two weeks ago.

Deputy from the Republic of Macedonia Zivko Vasilevski accused "legal authorities and feuding national

leaders" of "inciting a conflict between the Serbs and the Croats" founded on "greater-state and sick ambitions to dominate the country."

Vasilevski read out a statement formulated by all the deputies from Macedonia condeming the anti-army demonstrations in the town of Split three days ago, in which one Macedonian solider was shot dead and another wounded. The Macedonian deputies demanded that those responsible for ordering and executing the bloody violence in Split be brought to justice.

The statement expresses outrage because the demonstrations in Split had been organized by a legal trade union organization and because "they took place with the participation of legal political and police authorities of the Republic of Croatia."

"There can for the entire progressive public of Yugoslavia be no justification for the conduct of the police," the Macedonia deputies said.

Mojse Kostic, a deputy from the province of Kosovo, accused the republican leaderships of a lack of readiness to find a peaceful way out of the crisis.

Deputy Jovan Kandic said he had far more faith in the good intentions of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) than in those of various paramilitary and other units. He called for the YPA to be engaged on returning order into the chaotic relations in the country.

The session's chairman announced that the government and the Yugoslav Presidency would also join in the debate today.

Foreign Secretariat on World Reaction to Events

LD0905170291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1558 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat said today in response to a question by TANJUG's diplomatic editor that reactions throughout the world to the situation in Yugoslavia reflected conviction that Yugoslavia would be able to secure peace and democratic dialogue in its restructuring.

The messages which the Yugoslav Government is receiving underline as inseparable the preservation of the country's territorial integrity, a peaceful outcome of the crisis and democratic development, the secretariat said.

Among the series of statements made by statesmen and politicians in many countries in favour of peace in Yugoslavia, the preservation of its unity and integrity, and the intensive development of democracy, the Foreign Secretariat particularly pointed to the "wise statements of His Holiness Pope John Paul the Second, whom we hold in high esteem."

The secretariat said the statement of the president of the European Community (EC), Luxembourg's Prime Minister Jacques Santer, in connection with the forthcoming visit of a top-level EC delegation, "represents an expression of the principled and consistent readiness of the EC to help Yugoslavia."

The secretariat said no official notification had been received about the proposal by Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock on the mediation of a group of prominent political figures in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

"In contrast to the EC mission, which we welcome, this initiative does not appear to be acceptable," the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat told TANJUG.

Croatian President on Crisis Situation

LD0905215691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 9 May 91

[Andjelko Perincic report on news conference by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb on 9 May; Tudjman statements are recorded]

[Text] [Perincic] The majority of the journalists asked questions relating to the statement from the session of the SFRY Presidency, which ended late last night. President Tudjman gave comments on all these questions. One of the questions was whether Croatia, the representatives of the Croatian services, will hold talks with the representatives of the illegally elected leaders of the Serbian nation, and whether among them they will (?perhaps recognize) Milan Babic. President Tudjman replied:

[Tudjman] No. This includes the legally elected representatives of the Serbs in Croatia—that means those Serbs who were elected to the Croatian Assembly and those representatives of the municipalities who were legally elected before the terrorism of Martic and Babic. In other words, those who were legally chosen at the elections and not those who were put there later by the violence and terror of Babic and Martic. Our representatives at the session of the Presidency, namely SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic and president of the government, Josip Manolic, who was deputizing for me, were able to agree to such a statement, because it says that a solution to interethnic and inter-republican relations must be sought, and I quote, "on the principles of full observance of the territorial integrity of the SFRY and the republics." This means that the outlaws in Croatia are violating this very territorial integrity of the republic or rather the legality and legitimacy of the government. This is the important thing in this statement, and on the basis of this we will develop our relations. In the negotiations, therefore, we will talk with those who respect the legitimacy and legality of the established democratic government of Croatia.

I would like to add that there are encouraging signs that we will succeed in reestablishing the legal order, the

legality of the government throughout the region, because in recent days from the ranks of the Serbian population in Croatia there have been increasingly frequent calls at fairly large-scale rallies, which began in Zagreb, Split, Imotski, Zadar, Sibenik and so on, where the representatives of the Serbian population themselves declared themselves in Croatia to be loyal to the democratic government of Croatia, the government of Croatia. These representatives indicate that the Knin outlaws of Babic and Martic do not reflect their will, that this is contrary to the interests of Serbs in Croatia, that they consider Croatia their homeland, and that they are in favor of regulating their relations with the Croatian government, which they recognize as democratic and that does not threaten them.

[Perincic] Asked to comment on the latest events in Hercegovina, Tudjman recalled the statement he gave for Croatian radio and the message he sent to the people of this region, after which he added:

[Tudjman] As long as there is the slightest chance of achieving our aims in a peaceful, political way, we wish to avoid bloodshed and unnecessary victims.

[Perincic] The next question was: Has the part of the statement that refers to the need for forces of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to be sent into Croatia resulted in a certain degree of patronage over Croatia.

[Tudjman] No, this is by no means a matter of acceding to any kind of limited sovereignty implied in your question. This is simply a matter of our readiness in the Republic of Croatia to peacefully restore the legal order, and to this effect we accept this cooperation on the part of federal authorities. We are doing this despite the fact that even the outlaws have been received in the SFRY Presidency by Mr. Jovic and despite the fact that not only Cetnik elements but—as you could hear it from the Cetnik leaders—entire Cetnik squads were infiltrated from Serbia into Croatia. Consequently, we accept the assistance of federal authorities and even of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] so we can establish the legal order and integrity of the Republic of Croatia.

[Perincic] Does the SFRY Presidency statement imply the disarming of the reserve staff of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, our colleague from the BBC asked.

[Tudjman] Croatia has the right to arm itself. It has armed its regular and reserve police staff. Had we not done this, we would have probably not succeeded in defending Croatia's democracy. And this is not only a matter of defending democracy but of forestalling the restoration of communist socialism. That this danger is all too real the gentleman will have realized, and the public will have realized, in recent days when this restored communsit party issued its statement against the referendum in Croatia. The statement says in an extremely explicit way that it is better to be in the grave than to be a Euro-slave.

Many Croatian people have asked, how the movements and actions of the JNA are taking place within the borders regarded by the greater Serbian imperialists and Cetnik elements as the borders of greater Serbia? They even say that Virovitica was chosen to trigger the trial of General Spegelj, and that these movements are being carried out in this area because it is designated the border of greater Serbia: Virovitica-Karlovac-Karlobag. I replied to this by saying that there might [word indistinct] here but unfortunately we cannot rule out some far-reaching plans, not of the army as a whole but of some elements in it. This is why in our decisions, in our preparations for defending the democracy and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, we must take these facts into account.

[Perincic] "The period within which all violence must end and the peace secured is one month. A reporter of the Bjelovar television station asked whether this period is long enough.

[Tudjman] At any rate we would like to have the constitutional order restored sooner rather than later. Now this statement of the SFRY Presidency foresees a one-month period. Important developments must obviously unfold within this period, the changeover at the helm of the SFRY Presidency must take place, and it must be established whether we will be capable of reaching agreement on our alliances or whether Croatia and Slovenia will have to take alternative routes.

[Perincic] This question also referred to a potential contradiction in the Yugoslav Presidency's statement. Namely, the first item says that the security of citizens is guaranteed and insured in line with the constitutional and legal system of the federation and the Republic of Croatia. The second item, however, says, in the passage "that all violence must end and peace be secured," that an end must be put to the movement of armed formations and armed civilians in the hotbeds of crisis, with the exception of legal local services. Do these legal local services also include Babic's and Martic's policemen? Tudjman said:

[Tudjman] The only legal police forces of the Ministry for Internal Affairs are those appointed by the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs in contrast to those appointed by Martic and Babic. Now, there is this contradiction regarding these provisions, which set out that in these areas other formations should be suspended except for units of the JNA and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Obviously, we will accept movements of the JNA and the Federal Secretariat, but we shall not agree to a situation whereby our police forces are prevented from operating in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, because this is Croatia's territory and there is no way this right of ours can be questioned. We have already demonstrated our methods regarding this issue by the way we dealt with Pakrac, Plitvice, and Kijevo. Hence, we will agree to movements of units of the JNA and possibly of the federal police forces only to the extent that they help restore the legal order of the Republic of Croatia,

and consequently to the extent they help restore Croatia's police units in all the republic's areas.

[Perincic] In the continuation of President Tudjman's conference, the disarming of Croatian reserve police staff was discussed once again.

[Tudjman] Wherever it is possible, where we do not need reserve staff we will take them out of action. However, wherever we do need them to restore order, we will call them into action.

[Perincic] Since this statement, which deals with the disarmament of the reserve staff of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs, was also signed by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic, does that mean that a certain disagreement has arisen between President Tudjman and Vice President Mesic?

[Tudjman] No, certainly not. Rest assured there is no disagreement between Mr. Mesic and me. Mr. Mesic will follow the Croatian leadership's policy, and I said at the very outset that any statement produced by all those bodies composed in this fashion includes a certain amount of compromise. As far as we are concerned, if we could secure the victory of democratic principles by way of these compromising solutions and insure the freedom, democracy, and sovereignty of Croatia, we would accept them. But we do not want to accept any solutions that would not take this into account.

[Perincic] A Croatian television journalist posed the following two questions: Who orders whom? Does the Presidency order the army, or vice versa? Second, did Mesic in effect sign Croatia's capitulation by signing the statement?

[Tudjman] There are grounds for your first question. The actions of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and indeed the people in these circles, have lately been frequently covered by the name of supreme command headquarters, so one can conclude that this Secretariat for National Defense is not carrying out its actions as an integral part of the federal government. The fact that the supreme command headquarters only emerges in wartime or in a state of emergency, which has not been declared in Yugoslavia, means that some elements in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense—or this supreme command headquarters—are reacting in a way that is at odds even with the existing constitutional and political system. These elements are obviously powerful enough to afford even this joke of almost presenting their supreme commander with an ultimatum. These elements are evidently powerful enough to afford such an approach but not powerful enough though to impose their will, to stage a military coup; they are not even powerful enough to order their tanks and machine guns to open fire on the people and crush democracy in Slovenia and Croatia.

As for the second question, there are, in fact, no grounds for it. This statement does include a compromise, but I would dare say that in our situation, in this transitional period, it is more favorable to Croatia than many other statements have been so far. The problem is that the order issued both to the military and other federal services is explicitly laid down; it says that they should help establish the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, which is being threatened by a state of insurrection. Consequently, the sole task of both the army and federal services is to help establish the legal order and integrity of the Republic of Croatia. This by no means constitutes our consent to any kind of occupation or any restrictions of Croatian sovereignty; it is solely this task that the JNA has been entrusted with. If the JNA carries out this task, then we will cooperate with it. If it turns into an occupation force in Croatian territory by obstructing the establishment of the legal order and integrity of the Republic of Croatia, then we would have to regard it as an occupying army and then we would clearly make decisions in line with such conduct. In this respect there should be no doubts that the leadership of Croatia will consider and decide on this issue in the interest of the defense of the integrity of the republic and the protection of the interests of the Croatian people.

Croatian President Appeals for Calm

LD0905114691 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 May 91

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] At the request of many officials, and in view of what ordinary people in the Imotski region and in Hercegovina are saying, I am addressing the people of these areas with an appeal that in these dramatic moments they avoid bloodshed and the many casualties that could arise from clashes between its armed people and units of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA]. The people of these areas have already achieved a moral victory and demonstrated their awareness and resolve by halting the movements of tank units and columns of the JNA. However, at this point there is no reason for us to embark on an (?open) conflict that would cause many casualties. Let the people remove themselves from the roads down which columns of tanks are coming.

I expect of the commanders of JNA units that they will not go down roads and cause disquiet among peaceful people by sending their units into their houses, villages, and hamlets. I call on the Croatian people to stay peaceful and dignified and wait for further guidelines, and also instructions and orders, which we will give in good time for the purpose of the security, freedom, and sovereignty of the republic of Croatia and the protection of the whole Croatian nation. [passage omitted]

Explosions Halt Rail Traffic in Krajina

LD0905184191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—An explosion in the village of Dalj and sporadic gunfire in the town of Pakrac

in the region of Slavonija and the Baranja region (both in northern Croatia) disturbed a relatively calm night in these areas, which have predominantly Serb populations.

Life is back to normal in most parts of Slavonija and Baranja, although there is still tension, and the situation today is assessed as better than in the past few days.

Twelve Croatian policemen and three Serbs died in a shootout in the village of Borovo on May 12, after which the Yugoslav people's army (YPA) [JNA] stepped in to prevent further ethnic violence.

A total of 19 people have died and several dozen were hurt in ethnic violence in the Republic of Croatia since May 1.

The night also passed without incident in the town of Polog on the trunk road linking Mostar and Listica in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where an armoured unit of the YPA has been immobilized for two days by the local population.

The YPA unit on the one side, and on the other several thousand people from Listica and neighbouring villages who are trying to block the passage of the unit through the area, are waiting in peace for the situation to be resolved by the country's highest state and military leaderships.

Reports coming in from this part of Bosnia-Hercegovina say it is almost completely paralyzed.

President of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic visited Polog today and told the townspeople that the YPA unit was on its way to a regular military exercise and did not intend to occupy this part oftme republic and western Croatia.

Izetbegovic also read out a telegram in which Croatian President Dr Franjo Tudjman asked the population to permit the tanks to pass.

The protesters are demanding that an assault paratrooper unit which arrived this morning to secure passage for the armoured unit withdraw first.

Railway passenger traffic has been brought to a halt at several points in the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina (in Croatia)—between Knin and Split in Croatia and between Bihac (in Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Knin. Explosions between the stations of Lovinac and Gracac, and Plaski and Josipdol, have also stopped traffic on the Zagreb-Ostarije-Knin-Split line.

The Croatian authorities do not recognize Krajina, which was formed in an area in Croatia predominantly populated by serbs.

The community of Yugoslav railways (JZ) said today that alert railway staff had prevented any derailments of trains owing to tracks damaged in explosions or any other emergencies.

Army Tanks Enter Listica; Citizens Protest

LD0905205391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Listica, 9 May (TANJUG)—At about 2000 about 500 citizens began a protest in the center of Listica against a peaceful agreement on allowing the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] armored echelon to pass through to Kupres for regular exercises.

The peaceful compromise, due to the mediation efforts by Bosnian Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, was reached at about 1830 in Polog, where the tanks had been blocked for three days. Given that the armored group has not yet passed through Listica it is uncertain what these new disturbances—encouraged by the local Croatian Democratic Community and led by Vice President Ivan Brekal—will bring.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 2030 GMT on 9 May in a Listica-datelined item adds: "At about 1930 GMT this evening the armored JNA unit, blocked by the barricades in Polog for the past three days, passed through Listica amid protests, but without incidents."]

Supply Convoy Reaches Kijevo

LD0905225191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2058 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Sinj, 9 May (TANJUG)—After 10 days of complete blockade, a convoy with food and necessary medicine arrived in Kijevo from Vrlika this evening. A unit of the Yugoslav People's Army secured the passage for the trucks, which had waited loaded in Vrlika since Sunday, 5 May. Apart from some protests by Serbs in Civljani, there were no disturbances.

Admiral Brovet on Breaking of Listica Blockade

LD1005083491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0706 GMT 10 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, confirmed at the beginning of the second day of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber session this morning that during the night of 9 to 10 May the Army convoy at Listica got through the blockades without direct conflict with the local people gathered there.

Brovet gave a detailed description of the circumstances under which the convoy of heavy military vehicles was halted 5 km outside Listica on 7 May. He stressed that a passage was cleared for the convoy with the help of the direct intervention of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic. He said that because of the blockade, helicopters carried out landings in the region yesterday. In conclusion, Admiral Brovet stated that this case shows the complete arrogance of the local officials and party leaders, who are pushing the people into

conflict with the Yugoslav People's Army in an impermissible and illegal way. He stated that the Army cannot bear responsibility for this.

Over 2,000 Croatians Flee to Vojvodina

LD0905113891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 9 May (TANJUG)—The flight of citizens, primarily women, children, and old people, from the border municipalities of Croatia into Vojvodina should not be accepted as a fait accompli in the face of the terror of the Croatian authorities, Vojvodina Executive Council President Radoman Bozovic stressed at today's session of the Provincial Assembly. He noted that more than 2,000 refugees from Croatia have already arrived, mainly by boat across the River Danube, in Vojvodina, where the state authorities have organized their reception.

In the Vojvodina Executive Council, Bozovic said, an operational headquarters has been formed in cooperation with the municipalities to monitor and organize assistance to the refugees.

The events in Croatia, the president of the provincial government added, have disturbed the citizens of Vojvodina, who are calling on Federal authorities to take urgent measures to protect the Serbian population in that republic.

Borovo Selo Assured Disarming Will Begin

LD0905215991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2039 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Borovo Selo, May 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, who today visited the Serbian-populated village of Borovo Selo in Croatia, said he felt safe there and expressed hope that the government would calm the situation im the country.

Borovo Selo was the scene of an armed clash between special units of the Croatian Interior Ministry and village residents on May 2, in which 13 policemen and three Serbian civilians were killed. Twenty-one policemen and an unspecified number of civilians are reported wounded in the incident.

Fearing possible new actions by the special troops, a large number of Serbian residents of nearby villages have fled to Serbia.

Markovic, Federal Interior Minister Petar Gracanin and Deputy Federal Defence Minister Admiral Stane Brovet held a closed-door meeting with representatives of Borovo Selo and nearby villages populated mostly by Serbs.

After the meeting, the Borovo Selo representatives told reporters that they had received assurances that the disarming of civilian members of Croatia's ruling Croatian Democratic Union would begin during the night.

They said that the Yugoslav Army or federal police should take care of the arms.

The reporters were also told that the Serbs living in this part of Croatia demand that the number of policemen be decreased and that the composition of the force be adjusted to the ethnic structure of the village.

When these conditions are met, it was said, the armed Serbs will surrender their weapons.

Croat Opposition Rejects Presidency's Conclusions

AU0905185991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Croatia's sovereignty has been crudely toppled by the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency. This was stated in a communique issued by the Croatian Democratic Party, which is the strongest opposition party in Croatia.

The SFRY Presidency has been applying different criteria in different republics. This is because it supported and is still supporting the Republic of Serbia in (?establishing) the legal system of the republic on its entire territory, including Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Therefore, the leadership of the Croatian Democratic Party rejects and condemns the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency, as well as the president of the Republic of Croatia, Stipe Mesic, and Josip Manolic, who voted in favor of these conclusions, the communique says.

Serbian Assembly Adopts Declaration

AU0905211791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1942 GMT 9 May 91

[Draft text of the Serbian Assembly Declaration on the position of Serbs in Croatia read by Deputy Pavic Obradovic—live]

[Text] At its session held on 8 and 9 May 1991, the Serbian Assembly discussed and adopted the report of the government of the Republic of Serbia on the imperilment of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia and adopted the following conclusions:

The violation of human, civil, and national rights of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia, despite democratic proclamations by the republican leadership, has assumed the proportions of an unprecedented pogrom, which is now threatening to turn into an uncontrolled ethnic confrontation and even a state-sponsored genocide aimed at the Serbian people throughout Croatia.

This has led to a dramatic exodus of Serbs from Croatia—an exodus unknown to modern Europe until now. Therefore, the Serbian Assembly, led by its basic constitutional, political, and human responsibility for

the freedoms and rights of all of its citizens, as well as Serbs living outside the Republic of Serbia, demands that the relevant Croatian services immediately withdraw all extra forces of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs and all armed members of the Croatian Democratic Community from all places in which Serbian people live. The Serbian Assembly also demands that relevant Croatian services secure the full freedom of movement of all citizens on Croatian territory, that the disarmament of paramilitary formations and armed citizens in Croatia start immediately, that all further attempts to acquire arms and the arming of individuals and groups that are not part of the regular Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and the internal affairs services be prevented, that the JNA ensures greater mobility of the units that are covering the threatened areas in Croatia, and that they be engaged promptly until a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis can be found.

The Serbian Assembly thinks that without the right to live and work, without protection of property, personal safety, and national rights of the members of the Serbian people in Croatia, it is simply not possible to hold any dialogue on the future of Yugoslavia.

Deeply convinced that it is still possible to find a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav state crisis, the Serbian Assembly reminds the Croatian Assembly of the unjustified historic, ethnic, and political omission of Serbian people as an integral element of the Republic of Croatia. This act is one of the main causes for the tragic development of events in relations between Serbs and Croats, especially because it served as the legal basis for the introduction of state, party, and civil terror over Serbs.

The Serbian Assembly holds the view that the victims that fell on the wave of chauvinist madness represent a sufficiently convincing reason for the Croatian Assembly to reexamine the status of the Serbian people in this republic, to establish dialogue with its legitimate representatives, and in this way to make the initial and perhaps the most important step toward calming the situation.

The Serbian Assembly thinks that the relevant Croatian services must without a delay establish the legal safety and all other conditions for the soonest possible return of women, children, and other citizens who, in fear for their own lives, fled to the Republic of Serbia and are still away from their homes. We demand that regular supplies of food, medicines, and other vital articles be ensured to all places in Croatia in which Serbs live. If normal life and undisturbed political dialogue on the future of Yugoslavia are to return, it is necessary to stop the media war and all forms of dissemination of one-sided information, which has previously raised interethnic tensions and even caused tragic confrontations among people.

We demand that the anti-Serbian propaganda be stopped in the Republic of Croatia. If the disarmament of all paramilitary formations does not start immediately in line with the order of the SFRY Presidency, and if the legal safety of the Serbian people is not ensured on the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Serbia, faced with such an obvious violation of the federal Constitution, the decisions of the SFRY Presidency, and the imperilment of sections of Serbian people, will, according to its constitution, have to resort to protecting the personal and collective integrity of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia. [applause]

The Serbian Assembly will set up special legislative groups consisting of representatives of political parties in the National Assembly, which will, in accordance with a prior agreement with the Croatian Assembly and representatives of the legal services of the Serbian people in this republic, visit the hotbeds of crisis in the Republic of Croatia and acquaint themselves with the situation in these areas.

The Serbian Assembly instructs the Serbian government to directly and via relevant ministries follow with the greatest attention the execution of all obligations that stem from the SFRY Constitution, the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency, and the Federal Executive Council regarding the protection of the rights, freedoms, and national integrity of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia. The government will promptly inform the National Assembly about the assessment of the situation and propose additional measures.

The Serbian Assembly is sending an appeal and recommendations to all states, governments, legislatures, and international organizations to assess the current situation concerning human rights in Yugoslavia, taking into account and thoroughly explaining the position of the Serbian people in Croatia. [applause]

The Serbian Assembly and government are ready to meet all such initiatives and provide all the necessary information and arguments. A comprehensive document on the position of the Serbian people outside the territory of the Republic of Serbia, which will be presented to the public in the course of the next few weeks, will be of special importance.

These conclusions of the Serbian Assembly, as well as the document on the position of Serbs outside Serbia, will be made available to the international public for examination in an appropriate way.

This is all regarding the conclusions of a principled nature and character. This two-day discussion has demonstrated a wealth of new proposals and new measures that should be forwarded through a special document to the Serbian government. We hope that the Serbian government will make use of the proposed measures and carry out further implementation of the program that deals with the protection of interests of Serbian people in Croatia and all other communities where these rights could be threatened.

Respected people's deputies, you will be directly informed about this special document on 13 May. Thank you. [applause]

Serbian Prime Minister's Assembly Address

AU0805105991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0844 GMT 8 May 91

[Speech by Serbian Prime Minister Dragutin Zelenovic at a session of the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Respected deputies: At the fourth session of its first regular sitting on 2 April 1991, the People's Assembly of the Republic of Serbia adopted a declaration on the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and against civil war and violence. In the declaration it decisively protested in a specific and dignified way the use of force against the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia and advocated that the crisis in the Yugoslav state community be urgently resolved in a peaceful and democratic way. At the same time, the Serbian Assembly asked the SFRY Presidency and the staff of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia not to permit interethnic armed conflicts and civil war in Yugoslavia or the use of violence in any form against an innocent population.

The efforts of the Serbian Assembly have unfortunately not borne fruit. On the contrary, the increase of pressures, pogrom-like behavior, violence, and threats have escalated to a level that until recently was not even possible to imagine, particularly not in Europe on the threshold of the 21st century.

At its sessions on 3 and 6 May 1991, the Serbian government therefore discussed the drastic aggravation of the threat to the position and rights of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia and its direct effect on the worsening interethnic conflicts in the country. It was assessed that in their character, dimensions, and consequences the disagreeable events in Titova Korenica, Plitvice, Borovo Selo, and other towns in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, Baranja, Slavonia, and western Srem suggest that there is an immediate danger of civil war breaking out.

The government thinks that the aforementioned events have been caused by the organized and continued violation of the civil and national freedoms and rights of the Serbian people by the services of the Croatian authorities. Further, by the sowing of fear for their security and survival in the Republic of Croatia, and that many actions involved in this are reminiscent of methods and crimes on this territory in the last war.

The government has stated that the responsible services of the Republic of Croatia bear joint responsibility for the bloody clash in Borovo Selo, and particularly its Ministry of Internal Affairs, whose members carried out an organized armed attack on this town.

The government stresses that the position of the Serbian people in the Republic of Croatia is becoming increasingly complex and difficult because their rights, as well as their civil and other liberties, have been violated, while increasingly their life as well, because they are constantly exposed to pressures and armed attacks. Members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs have gone from individual attacks on citizens to open attacks on areas populated by Serbian people.

Because a large amount of weapons has been distributed among citizens of Croatian nationality, the situation in the Republic of Croatia increasingly more serious and tense; the danger for the security of the Serbian people in this republic is becoming more and more clear. It is assessed that by engaging its units and commands, therefore, the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is endeavoring and should continue to endeavor to prevent the spread of interethnic conflicts.

The Serbian government believes that units of the federation bear responsibility for the causes and consequences of the situation that has arisen in the Republic of Croatia. Responsibility is based on the fact that they react very slowly to everything that happens contrary to the country's existing constitutional order and ignoring the protection of the rights of citizens and peoples. Moreover, their activities do not go beyond adopting recommendations and appeals, and they lack the energetic decisiveness to consistently implement the decisions that have been made.

Of particular importance is the great responsibility of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] because of its failure to carry out the tasks that have been established by the Constitution and the failure to take measures to protect the human rights and freedoms of citizens in the Republic of Croatia. Instead of promptly taking and proposing measures to effectively preserve order and peace in the whole country and to protect the freedoms and rights of citizens and peoples that are established by international conventions, the FEC has been active mainly in repeating the assessments and stands of the SFRY Presidency and as a rule does this a considerable time after the problems have arisen and the legal order has been violated.

It thus contributes to Yugoslavia's standing being diminished in the world, which has unfavorable economic consequences and means economic cooperation is broken off with other countries, and that visits abroad by official state delegations are postponed.

This and the fact that the programmed effects that were planned are not being achieved in the stabilization of economic operations, development, and reform are sufficient reason, in the government's opinion, for the question to be raised about the FEC's responsibility for the entire situation in the country and confidence in it.

The Serbian government rejects all claims that it or any other unit of the Serbian Republic is involved in events in Borovo Selo or anywhere else in the Croatian Republic. It is clear to the government and the people of the Serbian Republic that on the threshold of the 21st century, the relations between people and nations cannot be resolved with force. The Serbian government is of the opinion that as long as Yugoslavia exists and as long as

the services of the federation function, particularly the JNA, it is their constitutional and legal obligation to ensure the protection of all citizens and the equality of all peoples and nationalities.

This means unambiguously that the SFRY Presidency, the FEC, and other services responsible should immediately take all essential and specific measures to protect the Serbian people in the Croatian Republic, including the consistent implementation of decisions that were made earlier, particularly those relating to the disarmament of paramilitary formations. It is expected that in this sense, the next session of the SFRY Presidency, scheduled for 10 May 1991, will represent a crossroads in the federation's constitutional functions being carried out.

Therefore, the government feels that the frequent attacks on the JNA in various forms are nothing but part of the programmed system of attempts to illegally break up Yugoslavia. This is because the Serbian Republic has no reason or intention whatsoever to change its policy toward Yugoslavia, which is a recognized international subject. It recognizes the right of all people to leave Yugoslavia if they want to, but not to the detriment of Serbia and the Serbian people. It is in Serbia's interest that services of the federation, including the JNA, function in total conformity with the Constitution.

The latest events of 6 May, which were caused by a direct action by the Croatian leadership and ended with the cruel killing of a young soldier of the JNA and the heedless destruction of everything that belongs to the JNA obviously show the attitude toward citizens and the JNA by the members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and their accomplices in the ranks of the Croatian Democratic Community. The increasingly frequent attacks on premises and property owned by Serbs, cases of arson, and other forms of destruction clearly show that complete anarchy, supported by state terror, rules in Croatia.

Bearing in mind that the FEC and other services of the federation have the duty to implement the country's defense policy and carry out preparations for the country's defense and that, according to their constitutional position, they are responsible for the situation in the country as a whole and therefore in Croatia, the Serbian government has demanded in a special letter to the FEC that: the FEC and responsible federal services directly act without delay to crush all armed and other conflicts on an interethnic basis and thus prevent a further escalation of the use of force and violence in resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

It also demands that a direct investigation and check be made to establish all forms of state terror by the Croatian authorities over the Serbian people and establish the facts concerning the foundations for this terror in the programmatic aims of the Croatian Democratic Community and other anti-Serbian parties who are focused on the political and biological annihilation of the Serbian people on this territory.

Three: [number as heard] to carry out without delay the disarmament of all paramilitary formations and prevent any further illegal delivery of weapons.

Four: that the Federal and judicial services in particular should directly examine the causes and consequences of the conflicts that culminated almost to the point of civil war and that originate in the threat of rights and freedoms and the security of the citizens' property. In so doing, one must ensure the full independence and objectivity of these services. One should therefore invite respective international institutions that deal in the protection of human rights and freedoms.

Five: The FEC should ensure that the Croatian authorities respect the SFRY Constitution, including its provisions that concern the protection of the rights, freedoms, and integrity of citizens and the protection of their national rights including the definition of the relations in Yugoslavia.

Six: The procedure should be initiated to establish responsibility of official persons and officials against whose orders serious crimes of violence against, abuse of, and even liquidation of Serbs in Croatia were committed. This procedure is in the authority of the Federal public prosecutor.

The Serbian government is of the opinion in particular that an initiative should be launched through the FEC that the SFRY Presidency should establish that conditions exist for implementing Article 8 of the Basic Law on the State Security System and make the decision to directly organize and carry out security tasks on the territory of the Croatian Republic on the part of the Federation and the formation of the combined forces of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs [Zelenovic corrects himself], of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which would act on the endangered territories. This, along with the engagement of the JNA at an increased level of readiness, would contribute to stabilizing the security situation and to the protection of rights and freedoms of the Serbian people in Croatia.

The Serbian government insists that the FEC invite international human rights organizations to visit Yugoslavia and establish that human rights and freedoms of the Serbian people in Croatia have been violated.

Considering the seriousness of the situation and its own constitutional obligations, the Serbian government is also of the opinion that it is necessary for it to extend support and help to the Federal services in realizing the aforementioned demands. The commitment of the federal services is expected to create conditions for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis, something the FEC also advocates.

If the FEC and the Federal services are incapable of ensuring the aforementioned and of guaranteeing freedom and a peaceful life to all citizens in this situation—particularly to the Serbian people in the Croatian Republic—they must inform the SFRY Assembly and the public about this and bear the consequences foreseen by the Constitution.

A special situation certainly is created in this case in which the Serbian Republic will, on the basis of its constitutional obligations, program the necessary activities for the protection of the Serbian people in Croatia. The government expects all political parties and citizens' associations in the Serbian Republic to contribute with their political activity in accordance with the principles of the work of political parties to solving the aggravated interethnic relations in the country and the Croatian Republic, and the Serbian state services will take all measures and perform all activities for which they are authorized by the law and Constitution. Thank you.

Milosevic Comments on Federal Presidency Decisions

AU0905140391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 9 May 91

[Statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to Belgrade Television on 9 May—recorded]

[Text] First of all, I would like to tell the citizens of Serbia that the result achieved by the SFRY Presidency this morning is the first significant result, the first encouraging sign, and a step toward resolving the interethnic clashes in the country. Bloody clashes and acts of state terror over Serbs in Croatia are aimed at the forceful and unconstitutional achievement of the autonomy and independence of the republic vis-a-vis Yugoslavia and at the abolishment of Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, what has been simultaneously happening in Serbia and in many parts of the country outside Serbia populated by the Serbian people demonstrates that Serbia and its citizens and the greatest section of the Serbian people want peace, a constitutional, democratic, and human way of resolving the Yugoslav crisis and the same kind of way of realizing their legitimate interests.

The crisis in Yugoslavia has acquired such dimensions that it threatens to pull Yugoslavia into a civil war. The latest events are the best proof that this war is being caused by separatist and nationalist forces in the country.

As is known, Serbia is determined to remain in Yugoslavia, on an equal footing with other Yugoslav peoples. Therefore, it is ready to preserve Yugoslavia and defend it together with all those who share our orientations. Each one of the Yugoslav people who want to leave Yugoslavia can do so in a legal way, without violence.

In waging wars in the past years and centuries, the Serbian people have lost more than any other of the Yugoslav peoples. Therefore the Serbian people have the right today to strive for peace and to be against new bloodshed and new suffering.

In the last few months we have heard enough slogans about a Serbia that stretches to Rijeka and a Croatia that stretches all the way to Zemun. I am sure that there is neither a Serbian nor a Croatian mother who will agree to their children going to war for a Serbia that stretches to Rijeka or a Croatia that stretches to Zemun. Therefore, the violence that was carried out in the last few days by the forces of the Republic of Croatia and the victims that fell when a political agreement on a peaceful and democratic way of resolving the crisis had already been reached should be a tragic warning to all those who are looking for a solution in violence. Those who are doing this must know that freedom must be defended with all means and that Serbia and the Serbian people are capable of defending their freedom.

However, all of us in this country have had enough of wars. Peaceful means are therefore both necessary and possible. I think that solutions can be found on the basis of consent on three main points: first, that the Yugoslav crisis must be solved with peace rather than war; second, peace should be guaranteed by all political institutions in the country and the Yugoslav People's Army; and third, political solutions must be democratic, which implies respect for the will of the people and the right to self-determination. They must proceed from the fact that Yugoslavia exists. Consent on these three points is necessary, but is also a sufficient condition for violence on the territory of Yugoslavia to stop.

We are advocating the kind of solution to the Yugoslav crisis that will not threaten the interests of a single one of the Yugoslav peoples. Therefore I am convinced that the forces of peace, freedom, and equality will defeat the forces of violence and disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Serbs in Krajina Offer To Talk With Croatia

LD0905230591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2148 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 9 (TANJUG)—Premier of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and president of the Serbian National Council Milan Babic today proposed to president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman talks on resolving inter-ethnic conflicts which have been in evidence in the republic since the coming to power of the Croatia Democratic Union (CDU).

The predominantly Serb populated Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina is in Croatia.

In a letter to Tudjman, Babic says that Krajina gives "support to the programme of measures and activities (announced by the Presidency of Yugoslavia today) for a lasting solution to inter-ethnic conflicts."

Babic goes on to express approval for setting up a joint group of legitimate representatives of the Serbian people living in Croatia and Croatian representatives on a parity basis which should open talks.

Babic asks of the Croatian president to answer by tomorrow whether or not he will put off a referendum called for May 19, in order that conditions might be created for defining on an equal footing the way in which to carry out an all-Yugoslav referendum on the future of Yugoslavia.

Commenting at a press conference today the conclusion of the state Presidency on opening talks between the Croatian authorities and Serbs in Croatia, however, the Croatian president said that he "will not negotiate with (informal) premier of Krajina Babic... but only with the legitimately elected representatives of Serbs in Croatia."

Babic Says 'Outstanding Issues' Remain

LD0905164491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Knin, 9 May (TANJUG)—"We have received, with relief, the decisions of the SFRY Presidency that serve to prevent civil war and are the prerequisite for a peaceful and democratic solution to the political crisis in our country."

This is how Knin Municipal Assembly President Milan Babic commented on the latest decision of the Federal Presidency. Speaking on Radio Knin, he stressed that "the Serbian people in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina in Croatia can be satisfied with these decisions, and added that in this way, both the Yugoslav People's Army and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs will prevent further barbarity and terrorism of the Croatian leadership over the Serbs."

Besides this, Babic repeated some of his well-known stands regarding expression of will of the Serbian people, accepting the formation of parity groups for negotiations, because according to him "there are outstanding issues concerning the territorial separation of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina from the Republic of Croatia, and the future of Serbs in Croatia and Croats in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina."

Belgrade 'Rally for Peace' Demands Arms

AU0905144491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 May 91

[Srdjan Savic report on anti-war rally in Belgrade]

[Text] [Savic] The rally for peace has been organized by the united Serbian opposition because of the conflicts in Yugoslavia, which many people are assessing as the beginning of civil war. Representatives of the Democratic Party are taking part after yesterday's decision by this party's Executive Committee to join the demands for peace that have been made by the united opposition. About 10,000, maybe fewer, people have gathered on Republic Square. Before the beginning of the rally, those who had gathered in the first rows, were shouting: Serbia, Serbia; we will slaughter the Ustasha; we want arms.

The crowd was addressed first by Serbian Renaissance Movement President Vuk Draskovic while Mirko Petrovic from the Democratic Party, Kosta Cavoski from the Liberal Party, Dragan Veselinov from the People's Peasant Party, Vojin Dimitrijevic, representative of the Reformists, and Nebojsa Popov from the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative are also expected to speak.

Serbian Radical Leader Explains Use of Chetniks

LD0805170691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 8 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 May (TANJUG)—Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], told journalists today that the first attack by members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs in Borovo Selo was repelled by 14 members of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, two members of the Serbian National Renaissance, and six locals, after which the whole village took part in the defense.

Giving his own version of events in this Slavonian village, Seselj denounced official statements about the massacre of the policemen who had been killed. He confirmed that the "eyes" of one of them "popped out", but that this was because of the strong impact of a bullet fired from a "Tompson" automatic rifle at the Soldier's forehead.

The leader of Serbian radicals also denounced Degoricija's statement about the participation of the former Romanian security service (Securitate) in the Borovo Selo fighting, explaining this as the wish of the Croatian authorities to justify great losses before their own public.

Chetnik units, well-armed and well-dressed for sabotage and terrorist activities, Seselj claims, were distributed in places on the territory of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia. The units, announced Seselj, were ready—if needed—to take upon themselves the defense of the Serbian people and, should it become necessary, were prepared for mass retaliation.

Chetnik groups are not being set up on the territory of Serbia, but on the spot, underlined Seselj. "In places where JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] units are present, my volunteers will not take action". As far as Macedonia is concerned, their task will be, judging by Seselj's statement today, to prevent at all cost the secession of this republic from Yugoslavia.

Seselj also refuted accusations that his party (only registered in Serbia) was in coalition with the Serbian Socialist Party. He criticized the Serbian authorities today for "fatal hesitation" in this situation and labeled

the opposition, which is preparing anti-war demonstrations scheduled for tomorrow, as traitors, with the exception of the Democratic Party, which he even praised.

Jansa Sees Link in Slovenian, Croatian Events

AU0905170891 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 91 p 8

[Interview with Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa by Dunja Ujevic; place and date not given: "Croatia Must Decide"]

[Text] After the armed attack on Croatia, we asked Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa to tell us how he views the situation in Croatia and the possible development of events.

[Ujevic] Mr. Jansa, what is the security situation like in Slovenia?

[Jansa] Definitely better than in Croatia, but not good in the least. In any case, it is very closely linked to the events in your republic. Our government will issue an official statement on this in the course of the day.

[Ujevic] How could the situation in Croatia develop further?

[Jansa] The greatest danger comes from the possibility of the Army becoming more involved in the conflict or, what would be even worse, becoming directly involved. This would provoke far-reaching events in Croatia.

[Ujevic] You think that the Army is not already directly involved?

[Jansa] Yes, it is involved. However, there is the danger that it will become even more directly involved.

[Ujevic] Who is really commanding the Yugoslav People's Army at the moment?

[Jansa] Since General Kadijevic was sent into isolation—and I think that he is in isolation—the Serbian extremist current has been victorious in the Yugoslav Army and now actually leads the Army. It is under the command of General Adzic and that means that it is under the command of Serbian extremists.

[Ujevic] If the Army decides to directly attack Croatia, do you still believe that in doing so it would risk falling apart?

[Jansa] Yes, absolutely. If the Army does this, there will be a direct conflict in Croatia and civil war. The Yugoslav People's Army will very quickly disintegrate. There is no doubt about that at all because regardless of who is now leading it and the fact that the officer cadre is predominantly Serbian, the Army is multinational and non-homogeneous and it would fall apart.

[Ujevic] How do you, from your perspective, assess the strategy of the Croatian government in the aggression against Croatia?

[Jansa] I think that your government has now already exhausted its room for maneuver. It will have to decide very soon whether Croatia will resist the terror as a state, and that means in an organized way. If it does not do this or if it makes this decision too late, there will be an unorganized chaotic conflict among the peoples in Croatia. Wisdom lies in assessing when this moment is and if there is a delay in this, the consequences are unforeseeable.

[Ujevic] You said at the beginning that the security situation in Slovenia is closely linked to the situation in Croatia. Can you be more specific?

[Jansa] If the Army directly attacks Croatia, the demands for secession will at that time be put into operation in Slovenia. In that case, we will not wait for the end of June but Slovenia will immediately secede. Croatia will then, I know, immediately do the same.

[Ujevic] What would be the immediate consequences of such a move for Croatia?

[Jansa] Different consequences are possible in the short term, but in the long term the consequences would definitely be positive.

Peterle: Army 'Taking Advantage' of Situation

LD0905203191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1927 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, May 9 (TANJUG)—Premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Lojze Peterle today accused the People's Army of "taking advantage of the tense political situation in the Republic of Croatia and unnecessarily raising the level of alert of the Army units in Slovenian territory."

The level of alert was raised following the death of 19 people in armed clashes between Croats and Serbs in Croatia earlier this month and Croats' anti-army rioting in the Croatian coastal town of Split earlier this week in which one soldier was killed and another wounded.

According to Peterle, "all these moves have a bearing on the change in the Yugoslav state leadership scheduled to take place on May 15," with Stipe Mesic of Croatia taking over as president of the Yugoslav Presidency from Borisav Jovic of Serbia.

Peterle, who spoke at a press conference, said that the Slovenian government has today sent letters to the federal government and to other republican governments with a proposal as to how to "define mutual rights and duties."

The letters were based on information forwarded to the Federal Assembly yesterday about Slovenia's intention to start proceedings for its dissociation from Yugoslavia.

The letter to the Federal Government says that Slovenia would take over the Yugoslav Army's equipment and facilities in the republic gradually by the end of 1993,

and its share of the federal property in Belgrade and abroad in the amount of its estimated investments in the federal budget over the past ten years.

After dissociation, "Slovenia will contribute to the functioning of the federation and the Yugoslav Army in proportion to their work for the needs of Slovenia," the letter says.

Hercegovina Leadership Decides To Let Army Pass

LD0905125491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 May 91

[Statement by Stjepan Kljujic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and chairman of the Croatian Democratic community, on 9 May, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] In connection with the newly arisen situation in areas of western Hercegovina, the leaderhsip of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic; Prime Minister Jure Pelivan; and I, Stjepan Kljujic, member of the Presidency and also chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] [in Bosnia-Hercegovina]—have agreed to cooperate with the military representatives. The decision is to let the Army pass, so it may peacefully carry out its announced exercise. I am thus asking all people to leave the roads. The Army will perform its task and it will not enter a single house. We merely want the newly arisen situation to pass in a peaceful and dignified way, and we want no incident.

With full political and moral responsibility I call on all officials, the peoples' authorities, and especially in these areas HDZ members to obey this instruction and not contribute to any excessive situations. In particular I ask citizens to foil actions by provocateurs and by those people who at this point in time wish to cause great misfortune to us.

At the moment Alija Izetbegovic, Jure Pelivan, and I are going to see the people. We are going first to Listica, and then we will go to Tomislav Grad. (?You see) today we will try to ensure a passage for the Army, which is carrying out its exercise program, and which by no way is acting contrary to legal provisions.

Vojvodina Assembly Assails Croatian 'Terrorism'

LD0905183191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1733 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Novi Sad, May 9 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the province of Vojvodina, which is a constituent part of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, today condemned the "state and party terrorism practiced in the republic of Croatia against the Serbian people, which threatens the people's individual and collective civil and human rights."

Member of the Yugoslav State Presidency and President of the provincial Presidency Jugoslav Kostic said that the developments in Croatia are not terrorist incidents perpetrated by Serbs, but a confilct between Serbs and the legitimate Croatian authorities which are denying them their rights.

There will be no peace, but only conflicts with unforeseeable consequences, until Croatia should ensure an equal national status to the Serbs, Kostic said.

Vojvodina Premier Radoman Bozovic said that the safety of Serbs in Croatia is deteriorating dramatically and that more than 2,000 refugees from Croatia have been accommodated in communes in Vojvodina.

Serbian refugees from Croatia have been arriving in Vojvodina following an armed clash between Croatian police and Serbs in Borovo Selo in eastern Croatia earlier this month, in which 12 police and three civilians were killed.

Bozovic asked that the assembly of Serbia empower the president and government of the republic to "take all concrete steps for the protection of the Serbian people," in case federal organs should fail to provide the protection of the human and civil rights of all in Croatia.

Macedonian Assembly Supports Presidency's Stands

AU0905200291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 May 91

[Boris Djordjioski report on Macedonian Assembly session in Skopje]

[Excerpt] [Djordjioski] Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov briefed the assembly on the course of the Presidency session and explained in great detail the stands of the SFRY Presidency, stressing that he supports them as they represent efforts for peace and reason. The stands are a direct effort to calm the situation in the country, which is one of the conditions for turning toward Europe. Gligorov said that the country is virtually losing out because Europe's help is uncertain. These stands are an opportunity to continue talks on the future of Yugoslavia, which Gligorov sees as a community or a union of sovereign states. He is of the opinion that the formulation of some stands could have been more specific.

Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, took the view that the stands are far from being optimal solutions, but thinks that it is important that they were unanimously adopted. It remains to be seen whether this automatically implies the elimination of the major differences that have existed so far. Tupurkovski thought that the main obstacle to resolving the crisis lies in the extremism and (?inflexibility) in the way policies are conducted in Croatia and Serbia. If such policies are not replaced with realism, the consequences will be very serious. The stands are a step forward toward the elimination of repression in which the Yugoslav People's Army has a special role, because conditions have been created for it to carry out its constitutional and legal

obligations. It is irresponsible to understate the potential of the joint armed forces, but Tupurkovski [words indistinct] that everything must be in accordance with constitutional and legal acts, without exception. The current status quo, the situation in which everybody is threatened, and the lack of prospects does not suit anybody in Yugoslavia. Talks on the future of Yugoslavia must be continued. In addition to the leaders of the republic, the republican assemblies should also participate more directly in these talks. Europe is interested in the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and we cannot outwit or trick Europe with some of our speculations.

Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev stressed that the Macedonian government also supports the stands of the SFRY Presidency. He considers these stands to be a hope for the denouement of all, as he says, the horrific phenomena in the country. He thinks that this Republic is the most peaceful oasis in Yugoslavia, despite the fact that there have been some attempts to instill disquiet in Macedonia, too. He mentioned the speech by Vojislav Seselj, who claims that he has his units and subversive groups in Macedonia that will defend Serbian people in this republic. [passage omitted]

Proclamation of New Presidency Members Opposed

LD1005110591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 10 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—The proclamation of the members of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro, Vojvodina, and Kosovo, and the announcement of the composition of the top state leadership constitute the proposed agenda of today's joint session of both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly. Judging by the course of the session so far it is very uncertain how it will end.

At the beginning of the session, Djuro Vidmarovic, on behalf of the delegates from Croatia, asked that the member of the Presidency from Kosovo should not be proclaimed today. The reason he gave is that the member of the Presidency from Kosovo was elected by the Serbian Assembly, and not of the province.

Gojmir Komar, speaking on behalf of delegates from Slovenia, also extended this demand to the members of the Presidency from Vojvodina. Failing this, he said, the delegates from Slovenia will not take part in the proclamation of the new members of the collective head of state. Kurtes Saliu, speaking on behalf of the delegates from Kosovo, announced that they will not take part if the proclamation of the member of the Presidency from the province takes place.

Since the delegates from Serbia are presenting different views and counter arguments, the outcome of the debate, which is still under way, is still uncertain.

Government Examines Federal Economic Regulations

LD1005010391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Yugoslav Government approved a report submitted by the competent federal secretariat on the problems encountered by the ferrous metallurgy and on forming an agency of experts to help streamline and accelerate the privatization of the steel industry.

According to a statement released by the federal government's Information Secretariat, the federal government would participate in the work of the agency, which would be formed by the iron and steel mills.

The federal government discussed problems encountered in collecting dues to the federal budget and entrusted the federal ministries with drafting solutions which would prevent the Yugoslav republics from making unilateral moves which enable them to withhold from the Federation part of the basic sales taxes and tariffs.

The federal government recommended to the Yugoslav Constitutional Court to examine the legal basis for the decisions of the parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia to ignore feberal regulations and raise the prices of petrol, alcoholic drinks and tobacco. The court will also examine how far the law on the budget of the Republic of Slovenia has its basis in the Constitution.

The governmemt decided at its session today to invite vice-president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) Willy Wapenhansnto visit all the Yugoslav republics in mid-next week and acquaint them with the Bank's stand to the effect that this financial institution's support hinges solely on full adherence to the federal government's macroeconomic policy.

Bank Official Details IMF Stipulations

LD1005011391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2143 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 9 TANJUG)—Vice-Governor of the National Bank or Yugoslavia (Central Bank) Zarko Trbojevic said in the federal parliament today that Yugoslavia must meet three conditions before signing a stand-by arrangement with the International Monetary Fund to the [word indistinct] of about one billion dollars.

"The IMF will send a mission to Yugoslavia upon learning that the Yugoslav republics have reached agreement on regular payments to and functioning of the federal budget, independent activity of the Central Bank and monetary authorities and restrictions in general, collective and individual spending", said Trbojevic.

The federal government maintains that the agreement may be reached by the end of this month. Its programme was fully supported during Trbojevic's visit to Washington last week, where he attended the spring session of the Group of 24, which was also attended by the representatives of the World Bank and the committee of commercial banks which are Yugoslavia's creditors.

If agreement should be reached, the IMF mission would arrive in Yugoslavia by early June.

When informed that Yugoslavia will request from the Paris Club to reschedule its outstanding debt of 640 million dollars for a period of 10 years, with a five-year grace period, IMF officials said they would uphold Yugoslavia's request.

The World Bank said it was suspending preparation for an agreement on a 400-million-dollar loan [word indistinct] for the rehabilitation of Yugoslav banks and structural adjustment loan [word indistinct] to the amount of 250 million dollars, pending the Yugoslav republics' agreement.

In talks with the presidents of some Yugoslav republics, Trbojevic said that the IMF had made it clear that it only supports a unified Yugoslavia and that it has no intention of holding talks with individual republics.

Trbojevic reiterated the IMF's position that "these tiny states would soon face the problems of inflation, balance-of-payments deficits and spiralling budet deficits, which would only harm their nations".

Ethnic Albanians Do Not Recognize Representative

LD0905222991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Pristina, May 9 (TANJUG)—The democratic-alliance of Kosovo (DAK), the biggest ethnic Albanians' party in this Yugoslav Province, today informed the Yugoslav Presidency, Federal Assembly, and public that Sejjo Bajramovic isno and cannot be Kosovo's representative in the Yugoslav Presidency."

The DAK said Bajramovic does not enjoy the support of the people of the province, which is part of the Republic of Serbia.

Bajramovic's election meant not only an insult to the ethnic Albanians but also a degradation of the assembly which confirmed it and humiliation for a presidency whose member he would be, the party said.

Bajramovic was put forward as candidate for the Yugoslav Presidency by the Serbian Assembly, and he is to be proclaimed presidency member at a session of the Yugoslav Assembly on May 10.

The Serbian Assembly earlier this year relieved the then presidency member from Kosovo Riza Sapundziju of office. DAK President Ibrahim Rugova said in today's letter that Sapundziju "enjoys wide support in the province."

Bajramovic is a deputy in the Serbian Assembly elected at the first post-war multi-party elections in December last year, which were boycotted by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, who demanded that their political rights should first be returned.

The Serbian Assembly in mid-1990 dissolved the Kosovo government and assembly and transferred their functions to Serbia's parliament, on account of what was called separatistic aspirations by ethnic Albanians. It is on this basis that Bajramovic was nominated for new member of the Yugoslav Presidency.